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ABSTRACT

This annual compilation explores the history of small colleges in five articles that focus on the "uses" of this history in facing current debates concerning institutional directions. A brief introduction by Harold S. Wechsler addresses the role of institutional history for the small college. The first article is "Celebrating Roots: Sesquicentennials and the Distinctiveness of the Liberal Arts College" by John S. Whitehead with additional comments by Jurgen Herbst and David B. Potts. It suggests that historians face a major challenge in reconciling the college-university dichotomy. The second paper is by Ted I. K. Youn and Karyn A. Loscocco and is titled "Institutional History and Ideology: The Evolution of Two Women's Colleges." It compares the contrasting decisions of two women's institutions, Wheaton College (Massachusetts) and Russell Sage College (New York), as they considered moving to coeducation in the light of each institution's history. Next, Yuval Dror in "The Hebrew Technion in Haifa, Israel (1902-1950): Academic and National Dilemmas" examines the role of the small technological institute in national development. The fourth paper, "Requiem for a Pioneer of Women's Higher Education: The Ingham University of Le Roy, New York, 1857-1892" by Richard L. Wing, points out the importance of the goals set during the founding period for understanding subsequent institutional history (and eventual demise). A final review essay, "Places Where Status Is Sought" by Nancy Hoffman, reviews books on the history of teaching, tracing the development of schools of education. (Individual papers contain reference notes.) (DB)

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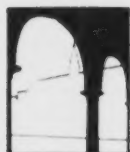
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**HISTORY
OF
HIGHER EDUCATION
ANNUAL**

Volume 11

1991



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CONTENTS

Introduction to Volume Eleven	<i>Harold S. Wechsler</i>	5
ARTICLES		
Celebrating Roots: Sesquicentennials and the Distinctiveness of the Liberal Arts College	<i>John S. Whitehead, Jurgen Herbst, David B. Potts</i>	7
Institutional History and Ideology: The Evolution of Two Women's Colleges	<i>Ted I.K. Youn Karyn A. Loscocco</i>	21
The Hebrew Technion in Haifa, Israel (1902-1950): Academic and National Dilemmas	<i>Yuval Dror</i>	45
Requiem for a Pioneer of Women's Higher Education: The Ingham University of Le Roy, New York, 1857-1892	<i>Richard L. Wing</i>	61
REVIEW ESSAY		
Places Where Status Is Sought	<i>Nancy Hoffman</i>	81
ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS		95
MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION INFORMATION		96

On the cover: Eaton Chapel, Beloit College, built in 1892. Courtesy: Beloit College Archives.

Introduction to Volume Eleven

HAROLD S. WECHSLER

University of Rochester

"IT IS, SIR, AS I HAVE SAID, A SMALL COLLEGE. And yet, *there are those who love it*," Daniel Webster told the justices of the Supreme Court as he was finishing his famous oral argument in the Dartmouth College case. But, Webster added another thought before resting his case. "Sir," he told Chief Justice Marshall, "I know not how others may feel (glancing at the opponents of the College before him), but, for myself, when I see my alma mater surrounded, like Caesar in the senate house, by those who are reiterating stab after stab, I would not, for this right hand, have her turn to me and say, *Et tu quoque mi fili! And thou too my son!*"

No, most university partisans—historians and other faculty members, presidents, students—do not approach the small college dagger in hand. But John Whitehead's symposium of the small college in this volume of the *History of Higher Education Annual* includes important caveats for university advocates. Some historians of education, despite a two-decade historical reevaluation, still view the small college through (hostile) lenses, dismissing them as inconsequential or intractably parochial.

Historians, Whitehead suggests, should abandon tacit partisanship and instead study the rich history of small college life on its own terms. These studies may facilitate comparative analysis, evaluation of the impacts of individual leaders on an institution, determination of continuity and change in mission, and scrutiny of the relationship between the curriculum and the extracurriculum. The historian's outlook, Whitehead adds, reflects an asymmetric relationship between large universities and small colleges. Members of small college communities, he notes, are often more cognizant of university history than vice versa.

The *Annual* explores the history of small colleges, by focussing on the "uses" of this history. Should small colleges, often in financial difficulty, continue to do only what they do well, or change their mission by creating (profitable) programs for new constituencies? Russell Sage and Wheaton—no strangers to changes in mission—opted against coeducation during the wave of institutional transformations in the 1960s. But in the late 1980s, Ted I.K. Youn and Karyn Loscocco note, both colleges invoked historical explanations to justify divergent decisions—Wheaton, to coeducate; Russell Sage, to remain a single-sex college. Understanding the founding period and subsequent institutional history, the authors add, is relevant to the current debate, though it does not "dictate" a path, either towards continuity or change.

Richard L. Wing's study of Ingham University emphasizes the importance of the goals set during the founding period for understanding subsequent institutional history. Superficially, Ingham University—a key nineteenth century educator of women—appears too closely identified with its founders, and thus failed to survive into the twentieth century. But Wing suggests that Ingham had little alternative. The two founding sisters, Marietta and Emily Ingham, provided the initial capital, and the academic leadership that enabled a small seminary to become a six-division university in 1857, 20 years after its founding. But at several key points in its history, the Inghams gave men—the Presbyterian Synod; later, local business leaders—responsibility for keeping the institution financially afloat. Neither group performed as desired, nor did the male “chancellors,” vested with formal responsibility for leadership by the institution’s male trustees. Marietta and Emily, deferring to male authority, thereby had their achievements “undercut by men who served the institution poorly and eventually contributed to its demise.” Ingham University, Wing concludes, “surely deserved a better fate.”

Yuval Dror considers another type of small institution—technological institutes—and their role in national development. The Technion became Israel's premier technical institution after independence (1948). But by then, it already faced familiar problems—how to divide resources between preparatory and collegiate divisions, how to define a clientele, and how to relate the institution to other new institutions that were simultaneously defining their own missions. Nancy Hoffman's review of books on the history of teaching raises, in turn, similar questions. Would nineteenth century “ed schools” evolve into general or specialized institutions? Can a college or university retain local links—and a communal ethos—as it moves into regional, national, and even international arenas?

Small colleges today constitute a substantial proportion of American higher education institutions. Perhaps these colleges will more easily define their place in the academic universe by learning their own histories, and how other small colleges invoked their histories.

Celebrating Roots: Sesquicentennials and the Distinctiveness of the Liberal Arts College

JOHN S. WHITEHEAD

The University of Alaska Fairbanks

RESPONDENTS: Jurgen Herbst, *The University of Wisconsin-Madison*
David B. Potts, *Wesleyan University*

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN HISTORIANS OF higher education write about liberal arts colleges? Few issues in the historiography of American higher education draw as much heated debate as the dichotomy between the values and traditions of the liberal arts college and the research university. Historians who value the research tradition often view liberal arts colleges as elite and homogeneous, and equate the liberal arts tradition with the preservation and transfer of existing knowledge. These historians depict the research university as heterogeneous and democratic, and link the research tradition with the creation of new knowledge. Must university partisans inevitably portray colleges as places that never awakened to research? Must defenders view liberal arts colleges as preservers of values lost in the university? Can historians reconcile these formulations, or is partisanship inevitable?

John Whitehead, author of *The Separation of College and State*, posed these questions to a panel of historians of higher education while preparing to address several liberal arts colleges during anniversary celebrations. Jurgen Herbst, author of *From Crisis to Crisis*, and David Potts, author of *Wesleyan University, 1831-1910*, responded. Penny Martin of Bowdoin College moderated the discussion, which occurred at the 1990 History of Education Society meeting in Atlanta, Georgia.

"Celebrating Roots" begins with Whitehead's opening remarks. The replies of Jurgen Herbst and David Potts evaluate the characteristics of small academic communities. Whitehead then summarizes the audience reaction and explains how he incorporated the panel and audience comments into the talks he gave a few months later at Beloit College and the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The college-university dichotomy, he observes, remains strong in the academic mind. Historians still face a major challenge in reconciling these two vibrant strains.

INTRODUCTION: JOHN WHITEHEAD

When I envisioned this session and recruited the participants, I had in mind a brainstorming session to share ideas and experiences on an important question: Are the histories that we write—particularly the histories of liberal arts colleges—of any value to the students, faculty, alumni of those institutions, or are they rarely read and quickly forgotten? Put another way, do colleges have any interest in their history, or does the press of current events eliminate time for, use of, and interest in the past?

My concern stems from a talk I gave in October 1989 marking the 160th anniversary of Illinois College and from an address I am preparing for the 145th anniversary of Beloit College. At Illinois College, I discovered a strong sense of heritage and history that stood in contrast to a decided indifference to institutional history at Yale, my alma mater. As a Yale student, almost a quarter-century ago, I wrote a long research paper, with the help of Jim McLachlan, on the antebellum colleges founded by Yale graduates. My colleagues evinced little interest in the subject, except for Jim and George Pierson. Richard Hofstadter's debunking "Old Time College" set the tone of interest in collegiate history at the time, and many institutional studies still focused on the rise of the research university. Yale itself, evincing little enthusiasm for any of the colleges founded by its graduates, saved its greatest indifference for the colleges that did not become universities. The Yale history department faculty, in fact, considered my interests quaint.

After my undergraduate days, I thought nothing more of this research until February 1989, when I received a call from Illinois College—one of the first colleges founded by the Yale Band, a group of Yale graduates, in 1829. The college, preparing to celebrate its 160th anniversary, wanted a Yale-connected scholar to speak on its early history. Ten years earlier Illinois College sought a speaker for its sesquicentennial. The college wrote to the dean of Yale Divinity School, where many members of the Yale Band had studied after Yale College, asking if someone could speak on the college founders. The dean's secretary, ignorant of these illustrious alumni, forwarded the letter to the director of the Yale Marching Band. This musician told the Illinois College officials that they must be mistaken about their history. No members of the Yale Band had gone to Illinois in the 1820s since the Yale Band was organized after World War I. So much for Yale's interest in—or knowledge of—frontier collegiate history! Illinois College officials persisted, and finally reached the divinity school dean. He promised to speak at the sesquicentennial.

This time, Illinois College called the Yale history department first and was directed to me at my present position in Alaska. I accepted the invitation, dusted off my old notes, and read up on William Jennings Bryan, the college's most famous graduate. I was skeptical that Illinois College had a real interest in its past since no one had ever revised Charles

Rammelkamp's 1929 history of the college. For the sesquicentennial, the college merely condensed Rammelkamp's chapters and carried the history forward 50 years. I assumed, incorrectly it turned out, that the college was as indifferent as Yale to its nineteenth century past, and that my invitation was the obligatory and perfunctory nod to history that occurs at anniversary celebrations.

I was mistaken. The college literally reveled in its history; faculty members and many students were aware of the college's origins. The Yale Band was widely commemorated, and people knew the members by name—Julian Sturtevant and Theron Baldwin, in particular, were held in avuncular reverence. The college indeed traced its present day distinctiveness to its preservation of the unique sense of community and mission inaugurated by the Yale Band in 1829 and maintained over the ensuing decades. This preservation effort included the persistence of debating societies that dominated nineteenth century campus life, but that long-since disappeared on most other campuses. These flourishing societies, now part debating team and part social fraternity, remained in their original buildings. Undergraduates in one society proudly showed me letters written to their group by Abraham Lincoln. Members of the rival Sigma Pi Society revered a portrait of former member William Jennings Bryan that hung above the debating podium at an angle that had secret significance.

My talk, "The Yale Band and the Collegiate Ideal," emphasized the mission of the founders to bring "civilization," sound religion, and liberal education to the anarchic Illinois frontier. I turned to two other topics: the efforts of the Western College Society that aided Illinois College and other midwestern colleges, and the liberal arts philosophy of the 1828 *Yale Report*, issued just before the college was founded. The heritage of Illinois College, I explained, included a success generated from apparent failures. Illinois College had vigorously tried, but failed, to become the state's land grant university. This failure allowed Illinois College to maintain a sense of community and family that it might have lost had it realized its ambitions.

The last part of my talk focused on the legacy the college received from its 1881 graduate, William Jennings Bryan. Bryan was more than just a distinguished alumnus. In 1903, resting between his second and third run for the U.S. Presidency, Bryan chaired the board of trustees of Illinois College. He caused a major upset when he opposed acceptance of a large gift from Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie's tainted money, Bryan claimed, would taint the college. When Charles Rammelkamp, the young president of the college who later wrote the 1929 history, disagreed with Bryan, the Great Commoner resigned from the board. Bryan, I concluded, raised an issue in 1905 that only surfaced at Yale in the 1970s, with the concern over South African investments. The source of a gift, Bryan insisted, affected the values of a college, regardless of how the college spent it. Bryan, I noted, added a western dynamism to the heritage of Illinois College by attempting to alter the insti-

tution's intellectual and financial dependence on the east. The audience seemed especially appreciative of these comments on Bryan. Illinois College community members revered Bryan, but no one was quite sure why. The college had long wondered how to reconcile this affection with the Scopes trial spectacle and with Bryan's near-loss of the Carnegie largess.

After the speech, I participated in a colloquium with representatives of Beloit, Grinnell, Knox, and Wabash Colleges. These representatives asserted that their present day distinctiveness also lay in the preservation of the nineteenth century collegiate communities they inherited. The participants knew the precise circumstances of the founding of their colleges—an interesting contrast to the ambiguous, murky story of the ten ministers who gave their books to found Yale—and were equally aware that their colleges had *not* become large state or research universities.¹ Their colleges consequently retained a sense of family and a commitment to undergraduate education, in contrast to larger neighboring institutions. Preserving older, but not outdated, values, panelists argued, permitted them to attract students who could easily attend larger, cheaper institutions.

The college representatives showed little concern with curricular content, save that it was liberal, not vocational, and believed that the curricula of a liberal arts college and a large state university did not differ greatly, though the personal manner of teaching did. Family, mission, and historic origins—not a distinctive or innovative curriculum—made their colleges unique.

So much for the Illinois College conference. I concluded from my visit that certain colleges have a distinct sense of history, and have maintained "an organizational saga," to use Burton Clark's term, for generations after the original founders died.² I call this historic consciousness a "sense" or a "feel" because their written histories are often 50 to 60 years old. Beloit, still relies on Edward Dwight Eaton's *Historical Sketches of Beloit* (1928). Illinois and Beloit faculty members have written historical vignettes of the founding years for alumni and local history journals, but both colleges lack a professionally written institutional history. Along with this sense of history I found a quest to refine the feeling—to find out exactly what made them and what they are celebrating. The mission of the Yale Band was clear to members of the Illinois College community. But no one understood the importance of the *Yale Report* in directing Illinois College in a liberal arts, rather than a vocational, direction, or the meaning of Bryan's contribution to the college.

Some colleges conclude that they need a written history, particularly as they approach major anniversaries. To help us write histories that are meaningful to professional historians and to the institutions themselves, I will ask each panelist some preliminary questions: Have you experienced this "sense" of history at institutions you work with? Drawing upon your study of the history of nineteenth century American colleges, what are the

significant historical experiences to celebrate? What items from past history make these institutions distinctive in the late twentieth century? If there are still Hofstadterians among us, what aspects of the nineteenth century colleges should we still castigate?

RESPONSE: JURGEN HERBST

Much has been said in praise and defense of the small liberal arts college. We tend to see it through the haze of dimming memories nostalgically recounted by alumni and alumnae, and we find it portrayed as "a haven in a heartless world" by skillful public relations experts. Safety, warmth, morality, and long-tested knowledge are promised to its students, and parents are assured that their children will be nurtured by a wider family which will prepare them for the trials of life.

Many, though not all, find these appeals irresistible. Those who do, I recognize as "the small college type:" men and women, boys and girls, who respond to the attractions of family and community, who seek comfort and sustenance within small groups of like-minded friends, and who, in many ways, prefer social homogeneity—whether of gender, class, race, or religious faith—to heterogeneity. I juxtapose this type to its opposite, "the large university type:" individuals who, for the satisfaction of their needs, prefer, or even demand, many and varied social, intellectual, and spiritual opportunities available to them in large and multiform institutions.

Whether small college or large university type, individuals do not choose their preferences so much as they discover them. They feel at home in a small college, they will tell you, or they maintain that they need a large university in order to thrive. That is why there can be neither praise nor blame attached to anyone's preference. American students are fortunate, indeed, to have the luxury of choice between small colleges and large universities—whichever fits their temperament and answers to their needs. This cannot be said of many other parts of the globe; certainly not of most of continental Europe. How, then, are we to understand this singular opportunity of choice?

Historians are prone to approach that question through a study of origins. How did the American small liberal arts college develop? Where did it come from? We find its antecedents in our European past of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the arts faculties of continental European universities, the local lycées of France, the *gymnasia illustria* of the German countries, the colleges, dissenting academies, and public grammar schools of England. In their different settings all of these institutions were small preparatory schools devoted to classical-scientific instruction. Their curricula may be traced back to the *artes liberales* as taught in the arts faculties of the medieval universities. There the study of grammar, logic, and rhetoric provided basic training in the Latin language, and exercises in

arithmetic, geometry, and the natural sciences familiarized students with the language of numbers.

This study of the language arts was understood to be pre-professional—it aimed to equip future secular and ecclesiastic leaders and professionals with linguistic and numerical skills, and to ground them in moral philosophy. After they had received such basic instruction and ethical orientation, students were deemed ready to continue their education in the professional faculties and eventually join the ranks of their society's elite.

During the Middle Ages, these studies provided opportunities for upward mobility to young men from all strata of the population and set apart students as aspirants to elite status. In subsequent centuries, they bequeathed to their schools and their contemporary equivalents the aura of selectivity and the claim to superior standing, not only in the world of learning, but in society as well. Increasingly, an education in the liberal arts came to be associated with social preference.

Latin grammar schools and colleges in the American colonies inherited this tradition, but a competing type of education beyond the elementary level gained ground in the second half of the eighteenth century. Academies, grammar schools, and eventually high schools gradually withdrew from, or never adopted, the standard liberal arts course and its moral indoctrination. Instead these institutions offered vocational training, instruction in social skills, the natural sciences, and modern languages, and an introduction into the obligations and privileges of democratic citizenship.

The colleges were left as the undisputed claimants to the European tradition of the liberal arts. As spelled out in the famous *Yale Report* of 1828, the college course resembled the program of the French lycées, the English colleges, and the German *gymnasia*.³ It carried as well the emphasis on moral education and the aura of social exclusivity which, to be sure, derived far more from the promise the college held for the future of its graduates than from the reality of the social, ethnic, or racial composition of its student body. As David Allmendinger has demonstrated so well, the realities of curricular program and of the social background of the students did not always conform to the picture painted by the *Yale Report*.⁴

Nonetheless, the image of the small liberal arts college—particularly when in the second half of the nineteenth century it became identified with the denominational college—was characterized by its emphasis on morality and a basic literary-scientific curriculum. Its small size and residential nature, with its emphasis on family and community coherence, added a touch of parochialism, if not narrow-mindedness. If it was associated with a particular religious denomination or secular philosophy and if it revealed in its selection of students particular biases of class or race, that parochialism might be seen as snobbishness or bigotry. In this fashion we may understand why ambiguity so often dogs the reputation of the small college. While some see it as the nation's best hope for raising future lead-

ers from a wide and varied pool of applicants, others find its appeal marred by exclusivity and its atmosphere poisoned by conceit and arrogance.

Do colleges recognize their own vulnerability to these conflicting images? Some certainly have, and we find them struggling to shape a new image for themselves. They have begun to adopt small graduate programs and to add or increase research requirements for faculty members in the hope of becoming small universities. Others opt to capitalize on their traditional strengths and cultivate their reputation of being superior and exemplary teaching institutions. Whichever path they adopt, American small liberal arts colleges know that they cannot rest on their past record. They will have to find ways to adapt to a world in which big institutions, a diverse student body, and a variety of educational aims constitute the modern challenge.

RESPONSE: DAVID POTTS

What is of value and what is worth celebrating, John asks, in the histories of venerable liberal arts colleges? To begin a longer list of such items, I suggest two major assets.

The first is a vivid sense of their own histories. An understanding of continuities in their "organizational sagas" enables them to define and assess changes. They can sustain a well-informed receptivity to change as a normal process in the plate tectonics of institutional development.

Not all venerable colleges possess a strong sense of their histories. A range of attitudes toward this asset is illustrated by the three institutions in my teaching, administrative, and scholarly career. Gettysburg College (1832) best uses its history for self-understanding. Union College (1795) has a healthy regard for its past, but has many miles to travel if much historical and analytical yield is to emerge from a fast-approaching bicentennial. Wesleyan University (1831) disconnected itself from much of its past in the early 1960s and entered a time warp. Some observers view Wesleyan as a museum of the late 1960s, static and reluctant to change. Without a sense of its past, Wesleyan has trouble defining its present identity and planning for its future.

Colleges in close touch with their pasts are prepared to pursue the central injunction of liberal arts education: seek self-knowledge. This injunction, though usually applied to the individual learner, can also benefit an institution. Sustained attention to the historical dimension of institutional identity allows planners and decision makers to see beyond the beginning and end of a five-year spread sheet. Historians can play a potent role in the presents and futures of our liberal arts colleges by helping them to develop and sustain a critical ownership of their heritage.

A second asset shared by any venerable colleges is a commitment to critical thinking as the central process in liberal arts learning. Histories that probe the pride and provincialism, victories and vulnerabilities, decisive-

ness and drift of colleges honor this tradition. Richly contextual approaches to a college's heritage exemplify the philosophical essence of liberal education.

The highly influential Yale *Reports* of 1828⁵ oriented liberal arts colleges to the primacy of mental discipline. Protected by Yale's philosophy from persistent pressures for ever more specialized instruction and highly specific career training, colleges were uniquely positioned to focus resources on the general development of skills associated with critical thinking and precise communication. The intimacy of professor/student encounters permitted use of the recitation method and class discussions to stimulate individual cognitive growth. These colleges have much to celebrate in the past and present versions of this tradition.

RESPONSE: AUDIENCE (reported by John Whitehead)

The Atlanta audience, like Herbst and Potts, was cautious about small liberal arts colleges. These scholars might be historically comfortable with the antebellum college, but they had reservations about the late twentieth century college, which many had left behind for the freedom of the university. Some respondents even suggested that colleges were *terra incognita*. When one person asked, "Do *they* [small colleges] see themselves as homogeneous or diverse?" another person responded, "Oh, *they* see themselves as diverse." The "they" pronoun predominated as audience members spoke of colleges. Most audience members used Herbst's "small college"—"large university" typology, and saw themselves in the university camp, though one member suggested that the labels were "messy" and led to an unfortunate categorization.

Some people asked if college histories could be sharply critical or if the celebratory theme was mandatory. Paul Conkin's *Gone with the Ivy*,⁶ a discussant noted, was so critical of Vanderbilt that Conkin had to seek publication via the University of Tennessee Press. This discussant did not note that Conkin's work shows that the problems of homogeneity and exclusivity are as readily found in the research university as in the small liberal arts college.

The most heated audience response came in reaction to the "family" quality of the liberal arts college. A family, Herbst noted, could be oppressive as well as caring. He recalled teaching at a college with an authoritarian president who tolerated no views other than his own. I suggested that the family atmosphere of the college might appeal to students who saw the family collapsing in modern day society. But some audience members retorted that the family was "changing," not "collapsing," and expressed concern that the liberal arts college might not represent the changing nature of modern families. What kind of family did the liberal arts college exemplify, they asked—a traditional male-dominated family? Would students from

non-traditional families feel comfortable in small colleges? Some audience members admitted that their universities lacked a sense of family, but they worried that a return to the close communities or families of the liberal arts college might stifle them.

Having listened to these comments in Atlanta, I wondered what I could tell the upcoming audience at Beloit. The response in Atlanta, to be frank, was not what I had anticipated. The revisionary stance on the antebellum college had in no way closed the personal gap many historians still saw between small colleges and large universities. A few months later I had the opportunity to experience that gap once again as I spoke at Beloit College and then at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

BELOIT AND MADISON: JOHN WHITEHEAD

Beloit, like Illinois College, was clearly aware of its heritage. The campus itself retains the historic buildings and the landscape of a nineteenth century New England college transplanted to the West. Knowledge of the specific details of that heritage, however, was less well defined than at Illinois. Beloit has long called itself a "Yale of the West," but the audience treated my talk on the *Yale Report* and the tight curricular grip that a group of transplanted Yale tutors held on late nineteenth century Beloit as new information. Beloit students and faculty were much more informed about the early twentieth century heritage the college developed in anthropology and archaeology. Everyone knew that Beloit anthropologist Roy Chapman Andrews later became the prototype for Indiana Jones.

During my visit I sensed that Beloit was eager to reestablish a link to its nineteenth century heritage as a unifying factor. In the 1960s and 1970s the college embarked on a new curriculum called the Beloit Plan, which introduced a year-long trimester system with a mandatory field term away from the campus for volunteer social service. The plan, emphasizing interdisciplinary and international curricular experiences, attracted a more geographically and intellectually diverse student body and placed Beloit in the national spotlight as an innovator in liberal arts education. But the cost of operating the college on a year-round basis and financing the field trimester led Beloit to declare financial exigency in the mid-1970s. The college abandoned the plan and returned to a traditional two-semester program, but retained some distinctive features such as the international programs. Alumni now often divide themselves as pre-Beloit Plan, Beloit Plan, and post-Beloit Plan graduates. A return to the college's early heritage would help to re-unite Beloit graduates as the sesquicentennial approaches. Students are encouraged to write on college history, and a pamphlet on the education of American Indian students at Beloit in the 1880s has appeared.

I told the Beloit audience about the concerns expressed by the "large university" types in Atlanta, and suggested that the college could protect itself from the "consequences of closeness" by remembering an historical watershed. In the 1890s, a group of faculty members who were also Beloit alumni, announced that Beloit was "no more the western Yale," thereby freeing the college of its overdependence on the Yale classical curriculum. Stagnation, I suggested, could be overcome as long as it was recognized. The Beloit audience was less concerned with the problems of smallness than the group in Atlanta, since most listeners were "small college types."

The next day I went to the University of Wisconsin-Madison at Jurgen Herbst's invitation. My Madison lecture, "Madison and Beloit: 150 Years of Education in Wisconsin," brought together "small college" and "large university" types, though the individuals did not initially know who was who, I suggested that both Beloit and the University of Wisconsin had their origins in the religious-educational tradition of the 1840s, and pointed to instances in which the history of the two institutions had been intertwined. Two Beloit graduates, for example, had been presidents of the University of Wisconsin—Thomas C. Chamberlin (Beloit, 1866), credited with transforming Madison from a nineteenth century college into a research university, and Robben Flemming (Beloit, 1939). The reverse, I noted, was also true. Martha Peterson, Dean of Students at the University of Wisconsin, became president of Beloit in 1975, and some 20 percent of Beloit's current faculty members were Madison graduates.

Some of the proclaimed differences between Beloit and Madison, I added, were exaggerated over the years—particularly as the state university tried to show the legislature that it was "more than just another college." Present-day Beloit and Madison students had almost identical SAT scores, but Beloit's student body was only 88 percent Caucasian compared to 92 percent at Madison. Madison was larger, but was it more diverse?

Chemists at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, I noted, recently expressed concern over the low percentage of Madison undergraduates who pursue Ph.D.'s in the sciences. The scientists pointed to large introductory lecture courses as a problem. "You can't turn Madison into Beloit College," one chemist said, "...but we hope to offer students the opportunity to be in small classes where they have close interaction with faculty members."⁷ The Oberlin 50, a group of small colleges, found that 8.2 percent of their graduates went on to take Ph.D.'s in science between 1946 and 1976, compared to 4.3 percent of Big Ten university graduates for the same period. Large universities, I suggested, might indeed learn from small colleges, particularly in curricular approaches to the first two years of undergraduate education. Should not Beloit and Madison jointly celebrate their 150 years together in Wisconsin?

The audience focused its attention on the science statistics. Some Madison faculty members, despite the quotations from their colleagues,

wondered if small colleges had the facilities to offer junior and senior level work in science. How could small colleges possibly do a better job in science education than the large universities? Could small college graduates go immediately to university Ph.D. programs or did they require a preparatory year? Dean Parker Marden of Beloit replied that small college graduates had no trouble being admitted to Ph.D. programs in the sciences, and that many small colleges encourage summer internships in larger laboratories.

The diversity issue also elicited reaction. A Madison teaching assistant in chemistry insisted that motivating Beloit students to science careers was easier because the students were more homogeneous and came from more elite backgrounds. Madison instructors were faced with socially and intellectually heterogeneous students who were more difficult to motivate. Dean Marden's rejoinder that 70 percent of Beloit students were on financial aid did not overcome the insistence on small college eliteness. Others suggested that more graduates of small colleges later pursued Ph.D.'s in science because the colleges specifically prepared them for graduate work. These respondents resisted the idea that small college teaching might be more interesting and hence arouse students to go on to graduate work.

The session ended when a Madison graduate student said, "I've been listening to this, and I just want to say that I was an undergraduate at Beloit, and the student body there was much more intellectually and socially diverse than I have found here. I really knew students of other races at Beloit. The same thing doesn't happen at Madison."

After the Madison talk, I reflected on my two-year quest from Illinois College to the History of Education Society to Beloit College to the University of Wisconsin-Madison. I first discovered that keen sense of history at Illinois College. I assumed that historians of higher education, particularly those working in universities, were interested in this historic sense, but learned in Atlanta that their interest was ambivalent, at best. In hindsight, I should have accentuated the dismissal of college history that I initially encountered at Yale. The "Yale Band"—"Yale Marching Band" confusion was more significant than I originally imagined. Small midwestern colleges were simply not on the mind of late twentieth century Yale officials regardless of the historic connection. Nor were they on the minds of university-based historians.

Jurgen Herbst's observation that people are "small college" or "large university" types by their own nature rings true. Indeed there are two sets of institutions in the United States to satisfy those personal affinities. But small colleges and large universities do not go their separate ways never to meet, though their interdependence is better understood at the colleges than the universities. Students and faculty at small colleges are very aware of large universities. Students seek graduate education in the universities and faculty members know that the standing of their college is enhanced by

placing students there—the Oberlin 50, not the Big Ten, compiled the data on undergraduate choices for graduate work.

The reverse—university recognition of interdependence—rarely occurs. Faculty members at universities, particularly those who earned all of their degrees at universities, are only vaguely aware of small colleges and their educational traditions—even when many of their graduate students come from them. The reverence for the Bryan portrait in the Illinois College student debating hall was a fitting symbol for the historic sense of the small college. But, the Wisconsin graduate student who said, “I went to Beloit and it was more diverse” is an equally fitting symbol of the blindness of the university to the small college elements within it. The graduate student resembled the “invisible man” of Ralph Ellison’s novel. And, as is often the case when minorities come in contact with majorities in America, the college minority is often better informed than the university majority.

Writing about colleges is a formidable task for research historians who all too often have identified with the values of the university tradition or have forsaken the college tradition because of a negative personal experience. The historian is thus an admitted partisan—often of the other camp—when writing college history. American higher education, as Jurgen Herbst noted, is distinctive for its diverse institutions and traditions. To understand the full dimension and diversity of American higher education, historians have to recognize, and deal with, the small college tradition. That tradition may distress some of our colleagues, but it is ever present.

NOTES

Editor's note: John Whitehead is the author of footnotes 1-1 and 6-7; Jurgen Herbst is the author of footnotes 3-4; David Potts is the author of footnote 5.

1. See George W. Pierson, *The Founding of Yale* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988).
2. Burton R. Clark, *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Swarthmore and Reed* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970) and “The Organizational Saga in Higher Education,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17 (1972): 178-84.
3. See Jurgen Herbst “American Higher Education in the Age of the College,” *History of Universities*, 7 (1988), 37-59.
4. *Paupers and Scholars: The Transition of Student Life in 19th Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973).
5. This pamphlet contained not only a two-part report from the faculty but also a report from a committee of the Yale Corporation. It was published as *Reports on the Course of Instruction in Yale College*. Hence I advocate a change in current usage from singular to plural, yielding as a short reference: *Yale Reports of 1828*.

6. Paul K. Conkin, *Gone with the Ivy: A Biography of Vanderbilt University* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1988).
7. William R. Wineke, "Who'll answer our queries when the scientists retire?" *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 12 1990: A-1.



Emma Willard

Emma Willard, founder of Troy Seminary, which eventually became Russell Sage College. *Courtesy: Russell Sage College Archives.*

Institutional History and Ideology: The Evolution of Two Women's Colleges

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IN THE LATE 1980s, WHEATON COLLEGE in Massachusetts and Russell Sage College in New York faced what had become an inescapable decision for women's colleges: whether to remain single-sex or to become coeducational. Wheaton officials rejected the college's historic mission in favor of coeducation. Russell Sage reaffirmed its identity as an educational institution for women. The similarities between two organizations that made different choices when faced with similar environmental forces, present a unique opportunity to examine the forces that predict continuity or change.

At first glance, each college appears to have calculated rationally in arriving at its decision. Wheaton effected a major transformation during relatively favorable economic conditions. The college had just successfully completed a \$26 million capital campaign, and had balanced its budget for the 22nd year in a row. The chair of the board of trustees reflected: "We are in a position of strength; we should make a major strategic move now."¹ Russell Sage College, though less prestigious and financially far more vulnerable, clung stubbornly to the concept of single-sex education for women, but only after careful search and deliberation. After a period of tumultuous debates, Russell Sage's leaders concluded that the college could carve out a unique niche by continuing to fill a crucial gap in educational choices for women.

On closer examination, however, these outcomes represent more than institutional responses to financial considerations—indeed, the more vulnerable institution stood by its historic mission. Nor is increased competition for enrollments—the rationale offered by the leaders of the two colleges—a sufficient explanation of their responses. The historical and organizational context, we believe, is an independent dimension that affected the gathering, use, and interpretation of information needed to make the decisions.

Our account of the two decisions begins with a history of each college, emphasizing explanations of decision making that focus on the institutional

aspects of organization-environment relations. The exclusion of women from higher education during the nineteenth century led Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon, and Eliza Baylies Wheaton to establish seminaries for women. When these seminaries, beset with constant financial difficulties, were criticized for a lack of rigor, some educators implemented reforms; others transformed their institutions into colleges that imitated the higher education typically offered to men. In both cases, environmental pressures led to conformity among organizations in a particular field. This push to *isomorphism* is powerful; organizations make choices that lead them to resemble one another even if this push is neither rational nor efficient. Dominant organizations compel weaker and vulnerable organizations in the field to imitate their seemingly successful and legitimate institutional form. The more vulnerable organization selects the most appropriate routine from the apparently successful organization.²

Recent literature on decision making questions the assumptions of earlier "rational choice" models that deem organizational decision making necessarily purposive, involving the systematic maximizing of utility.³ Our historical evidence shows that choices in organizations often are made without regard to goal-related preferences. Decision makers ignore their own stated preferences especially as environmental uncertainty increases. Intentions and actions are connected loosely in making decisions; rituals and symbols often matter more than the outcome of the decision.⁴ Indeed, symbols often construct realities that ameliorate post-decision disappointments since the consequences of the choice are unknown in advance.⁵

Our inductive analysis of the choices made by these two colleges draws on interviews with key organizational decision makers and their consultants, newspaper accounts, internal memos, proceedings, and newsletters, and published histories.⁶ Placing these case studies in their historical context illuminates the relationship between decision making and organizational change, and identifies the linkages.

WHEATON: FROM FEMINISM TO A NEW PARTNERSHIP

In January 1987, the Wheaton College trustees considered a coeducation proposal, largely based on a subcommittee report showing that fewer women were willing to enter an all-female college.⁷ The trustees appeared to arrive at their decision quickly, but postponed final action until the May meeting to "allow for wider consultation with members of the Wheaton family, including sharing our findings and convictions and soliciting their views."⁸ Campus constituencies responded negatively to the announcement. Shock, anger, and sadness were evident at the class meetings held later the same day and at the next faculty meeting. Stunned students and alumnae characterized the action as "rubber stamping" and questioned the swiftness of the decision.⁹ Lawsuits ensued—a predictable reaction at a

college that once renamed its bachelor of arts degree the "bachelor of sisterhood."¹⁰

The trustees, backed by the president of the college, stood firm. On May 24, the board chair sent a letter to the members of the Wheaton College community, stating that "the trustees have reached their decision and the trustees expect the implementation of coeducation at Wheaton College to proceed as quickly as possible."¹¹ The president expressed sympathy for the concern of students and alumnae, but argued that "we are vulnerable to forces beyond our control....The College we all love cannot remain indefinitely as it is."¹² Asked to respond to criticisms of the decision, the president added, "Can you imagine a corporation letting its shareholders decide on long-range planning issues? Colleges aren't just like corporations, but it is not a bad parallel."¹³

Our interviewees used the language of rational and willful choice to interpret the decision. A concern for the declining rate of female applicants in recent years, the trustees and president insisted, outweighed student and alumni opposition. "It was a matter of making several value choices in facing applicant market problems," the outgoing chair of the trustees explained:

Do we shrink to a smaller institution? Do we lower our quality? Do we go for a more aggressive recruitment plan? Or is the coeducation plan a viable option?

We cannot possibly reduce our college size and maintain a quality liberal arts program....not much you can do to lower the standards. Our recruiting staff have been pouring in 150 percent energy. One can only do so much for the recruitment....That leaves only one possible option.¹⁴

The trustees, the chair noted, demonstrated that "someone was running the place." The faculty, he added, had its chance.

Our faculty were asked to think about the future of our college several years ago. The faculty members were the principal actors to examine our future. But they were unable to reach a concrete agreement regarding the future plan. We were seeing a growing crisis of applicants but we were drifting. In 1986, it became clear that the next principal actors were trustees. The trustees met and started to work on a long-range plan.¹⁵

The trustees and president unabashedly emphasized the departure from former institutional routine by promulgating a new mission for Wheaton. "An examination of massive shifts in work and family patterns," the president said, "...calls for the creation of a new kind of partnership between men and women. We need a new model, neither male nor female ori-

ented."¹⁶ Coeducation, decision makers argued, would solve the problem of uncertain enrollments, though this specific solution actually presupposed the problem. Wheaton's leaders, invoking an interpretive language of "a new partnership between men and women," thereby matched the solution to the problem.

RUSSELL SAGE: "THE FUTURE IS FEMALE!"

Some Russell Sage faculty members began to discuss the future of the college in 1985. A trustee-established enrollment options committee then examined the Sage applicant pool and enrollment patterns, as well as reports from other single-sex colleges that recently become coeducational. Russell Sage, a less prestigious private college than Wheaton, might have successfully competed for students with public four-year colleges that charged lower tuition by offering more comprehensive undergraduate professional programs. But, transforming Russell Sage into a coeducational college would have entailed many difficulties, especially generating major capital for athletic facilities, sports teams, and residence halls.

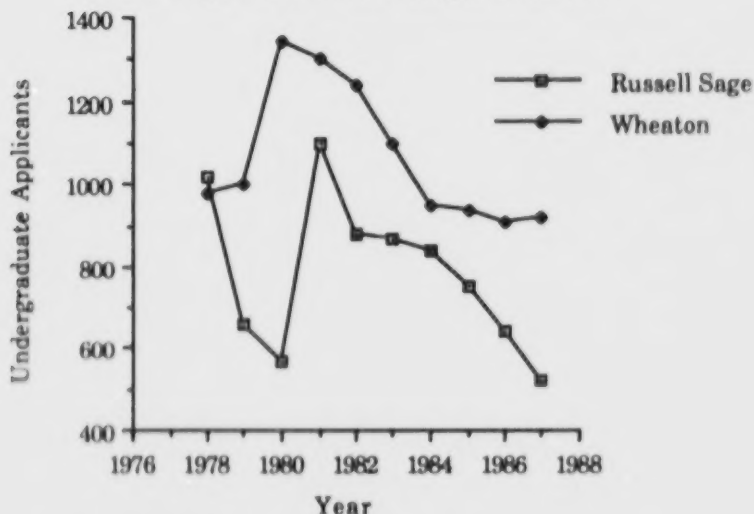
Still these rational dimensions were not of primary importance to the enrollment options committee when it ratified Sage's single-sex status. "For more than 70 years, the college has been a place where women excel," concluded the committee chair, "We believe they will continue to excel. We have confidence that the environment provided by Russell Sage College will make that difference."¹⁷ "It is obvious the trend has been the other way. I think we have accepted the difficult challenge," a committee member added, "So if we can keep our high standards, we will be unique. That is our niche."¹⁸ The president of the college, acknowledging that he had once favored admitting males, now said that the trustees' 19-to-1 vote for remaining single-sex "was what we had hoped for." The decision, he added, would have pleased Emma Willard, the founder of Troy Seminary, which eventually became Russell Sage College.¹⁹ It certainly elated most members of the Russell Sage family. Two faculty members led a procession to a statue of Emma Willard, where they hung a banner that read, "The Future Is Female!" Student marchers then floated 1,100 balloons, one for each female undergraduate. Each balloon said: "It's a girl!"

Why did the same problem—maintaining future enrollments in the face of a steadily declining applicant pool and looming financial uncertainty—produce two different responses? The record suggests that differing environmental conditions affected these institutions.

Almost all private colleges faced the problem of enrollments during the 1980s, but small single sex colleges were especially affected by declining numbers of applicants. Figure 1 shows that Russell Sage experienced a 48 percent decline in applicants from 1978 to 1987—a dramatic change.

Wheaton, in contrast, kept roughly the same level of applicants throughout this period.

Figure 1: Undergraduate Applicants for Russell Sage and Wheaton Colleges 1978-1987

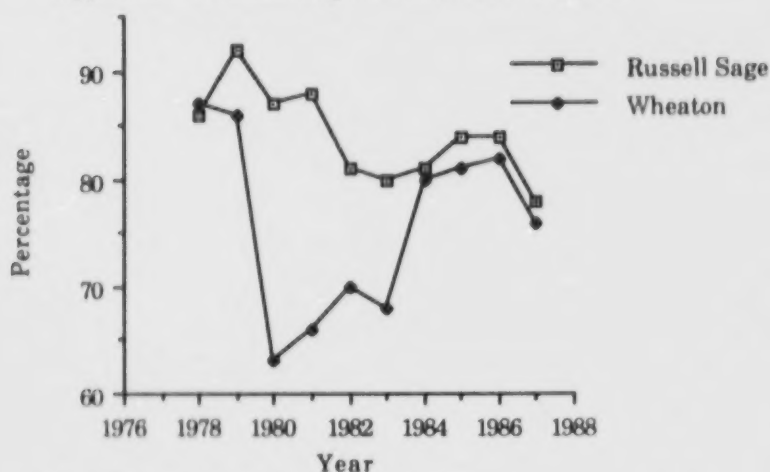


Source: College Entrance Examination Board

How selective was the institution—how many applicants were admitted and how many enrolled? Was Russell Sage in a better position than Wheaton? There were signs of hard times at Russell Sage. Figure 2 shows that Sage annually admitted almost nine out of ten applicants to meet its enrollment goals throughout the 1980s. Wheaton had a more comfortable margin than Sage, though most applicants to the Seven Sisters colleges considered Wheaton a less-prestigious, safer third or fourth choice. The ratio of admitted students to applicants in the same period at Wheaton was four to ten, although the picture was becoming increasingly competitive in 1986-87.

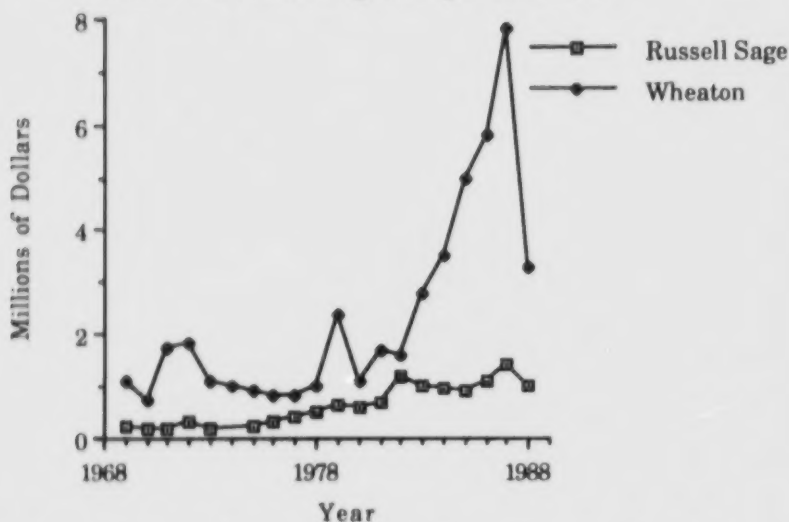
Which college was more secure financially? Wheaton had just completed a successful sesquicentennial capital drive by raising \$26 million in 1987. By 1987 the total voluntary contributions to Wheaton rose to eight times larger than its 1970 level. Russell Sage, on the other hand, struggled with a smaller than \$4 million endowment and raised less than \$2 million annually. The college substantially relied on tuition revenues to meet operating expenditures. (See Figure 3)

Figure 2: Proportion of Accepted Students from Applicants at Russell Sage and Wheaton 1978-1987



Source: College Entrance Examination Board

Figure 3: Total Voluntary Support for Wheaton and Russell Sage Colleges 1969-1988



Source: Annual Voluntary Support of Education, Council for Aid to Education

How could the weaker, more vulnerable institution remain a single-sex college, while the more selective, wealthier college adopt coeducation? What explains these puzzling outcomes?

ISOMORPHISM IN HISTORY

Examining the evolution of *classes* of organizations—in particular, the emergence of an “organizational field”—helps to explain institutional transformation.²⁰ Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell define an organizational field as the “structuring” of a particular institutional form into a set of similar organizations that “constitute a recognized area of institutional life,” and form patterns of coalition.²¹ The organizational field assures the development of mutual awareness among similar colleges that are involved in a common enterprise. A college’s organizational field includes colleges that share applicant pools, types of curricula, and specific educational goals. The concept, though, is neither rigidly defined nor static. A college that shares applicant pools but not curricula, for example, may be part of a focal college’s organizational field. The concept helps to explain decision making because disparate organizations exhibit strong *isomorphic propensities*, or mimetic tendencies, as they form an organizational field.²²

Wheaton and Russell Sage were “structured into” two distinct organizational fields, partly as a result of differences in their institutional histories and their clientele. These adaptations help to explain the different environments that Wheaton and Sage faced, and the different responses offered. To demonstrate the power of isomorphism among organizations in the same field, we examine the histories of Wheaton and Russell Sage during two key periods in the history of women’s higher education: the shift from the seminary era to the women’s college era, and the subsequent move from women’s colleges toward coeducation.

The early nineteenth century movement for the education of girls, who would be “the rearers of children and the moral companions of men,” met little opposition.²³ Before the 1850s, however, such education did not extend to the colleges. Instead, women’s collegiate level education was carried out largely in seminaries denoted by high standards and stern discipline.²⁴ The women who led these seminaries—including Emma Willard and Eliza Wheaton—believed strongly in the educational emancipation of women and in preparing women to earn a living.²⁵ Emma Willard founded Troy Seminary (which eventually became Russell Sage College) in 1821.²⁶ Eliza Wheaton was instrumental in founding Wheaton Seminary in 1834, which began with a sizable endowment from her father-in-law in memory of his deceased daughter.²⁷ Graduates of the early seminaries established more than 90 additional seminaries, enrolling over

11,000 students before 1872.²⁸ Figure 4 shows the pattern of seminary and college foundation.

Seminaries never enjoyed a stronghold in higher education. Representatives of male colleges constantly criticized the seminaries for their lack of substantial endowments, their limited programs, and the tendency for a proprietor-principal to control seminary life and curriculum.

After the Civil War, three developments challenged the continued existence of the seminaries. During the 1850s, Mary Sharp and Elmira College introduced an alternate, collegiate education for women—deemed more progressive by leading educators. The period of women's college founding is bracketed by Vassar College, which opened in 1865, and Sarah Lawrence which opened in 1910. In between came Smith (1875), Wellesley (1875), Bryn Mawr (1880), and Mills (1885). Second, by the late 1860s, most states mandated the availability of public secondary education for women. The opening of Oberlin (1837) and Antioch (1852) as coeducational colleges also challenged the seminaries.²⁹ Leaders of the early women's rights movement were convinced that coeducation was essential for women's emancipation from their "separate sphere" and for gender equality in higher education.³⁰

Rhetoric about domesticity remained important after the Civil War, but many American families increasingly recognized college education as "a good investment" for women.³¹ The female seminaries felt these environmental pressures keenly. "You are aware of the problem which confronts a school of this grade," the newly appointed president of Wheaton Seminary told the trustees in 1897, "The rise of high schools on the one side and the rise of colleges on the other have squeezed us thin. What shall we do to be saved?"³² As colleges became the socially recognized institution for women, most seminaries, Table 1 shows, adopted a collegiate form of organization—either single-sex or coeducational.³³ Remaining seminaries were viewed as outmoded particularly after the 1880s. Dense ties among seminaries meant that changes in one institution almost necessitated changes in closely-linked organizations. Such institutional changes gained added legitimacy by conforming to the evolving rules of external organizations, including standards set by professional associations and accrediting institutions.³⁴

Wheaton Seminary maintained its enrollments until the 1890s when it experienced serious financial problems as matriculations declined. The *coup de grace* occurred in 1893, when Mount Holyoke, a seminary that resembled Wheaton but with a stronger reputation and prestige, became a college, thereby undermining Wheaton's legitimacy.³⁵ Similarly, the successful establishment of Vassar College and especially of Simmons College (1899) may have prompted the eventual transformation of Emma Willard's seminary into Russell Sage College. Simmons College was an important

guide for Eliza Kellas, the first president of Russell Sage, in the early years of her administration.³⁶

Table 1: Institutions Offering Degrees to Women

Type of Institution	Year				
	1834	1880	1920	1960	1988
Female Seminaries (Diplomas)	96*	62*	22	13 (Est.)	4 (Est.)
Women's Colleges, Private (Bachelor's or First Professional Degrees)	—	29*	191 (Est.)	288**	96**
Coeducational Colleges, Private (Bachelor's or First Professional Degrees)	—	78	291 (Est.)	570	762

Sources: National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.

Annual Report of U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1870-1917, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, DC.

Biannual Survey of Education in the United States, 1918-1958. U.S. Office of Education, Washington, DC.

Education Directory, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, DC.

Colleges and Universities, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, DC.

Directory of Postsecondary Educational Institutions, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, DC.

American Colleges and Universities, 1904-1985, American Council on Education, Washington, DC.

Note: Institutions offering degrees beyond bachelor's degrees or first professional degrees are not included.

*Cited in Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the U.S.*, two vols. (1929).

**From the estimates made by the Coalition for Women's Colleges, Washington, DC.

Figure 4 shows waves of events in the history of women's colleges that demonstrate streams of change in organizational form. Major seminaries were instituted between 1821 and 1834; leading women's colleges were founded between 1870 and 1880. Seminaries that became colleges between 1910 and 1920 became coeducational colleges in 1986 and 1987, whereas women's colleges that were founded between 1850 and 1927 became coeducational in 1968 and 1969. Particular events within a period may thus trigger the emergence and diffusion of new forms within clusters of closely connected organizations.³⁷

Organizations habitually seek solutions to analogous problems from the sources that provided satisfactory solutions in the past.³⁸ Colleges, for ex-

Figure 4: Evolution of Women's Educational Institutions

<u>Seminary Era, 1820-1835</u>	<u>Women's Collegiate Era, 1850-1927</u>	<u>CoEducational Era, 1969-1987</u>
Troy Sem. (1821)	Russell Sage Coll. (1916)*	
Mount Holyoke Sem. (1836)	Mount Holyoke Coll. (1893)*	
Hartford Sem. for Women (1828)**		
Ipswich Sem. (1826)**		
Wheaton Sem. (1834)	Wheaton Coll. (1911)	Wheaton Coll., Coed (1986)
	Simmons Female Coll. (1899)	
	Simmons Coll. (1910)*	
	Women's Coll. of Baltimore (1885)	Goucher Coll., Coed (1986)
	Goucher Coll. (1910)	
	Women's Coll. of Frederick (1895)	Hood Coll. (1913)*
	Elmira Female Coll. (1855)	Elmira Coll., Coed (1969)
	Elmira Coll. (1890)	Connecticut Coll., Coed (1969)
	Connecticut Coll. (1910)	
	Vassar Coll.	Vassar Coll., Coed (1969)
	Skidmore Coll. (1911)	Skidmore Coll., Coed (1969)
	Sarah Lawrence (1926)	Sarah Lawrence, Coed (1968)
	Wellesley Coll. (1875)*	
	Smith Coll. (1875)*	
	Bryn Mawr (1880)*	
	Mills Coll. (1885)*	
	Barnard Coll. (1899)*	

Note: The year in parenthesis indicates the year of the founding of the college

*Colleges remained as single-sex institutions

**Hartford closed in 1836, and Ipswich closed in 1834.

ample, often look for new employees where they have found satisfactory employees in the past. Senior level managers, we've already noted, move within the same institutional circle. Colleges tend to adopt successful curricular models from similar organizations, and to look for applicants from similar pools.

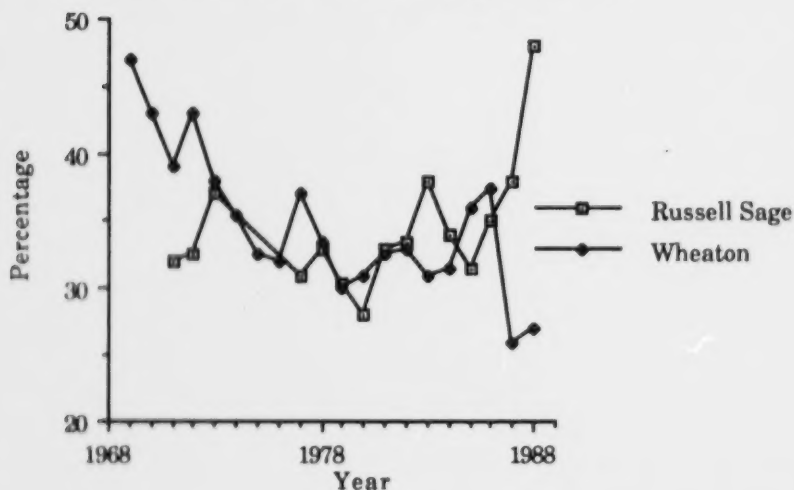
Isomorphic change helps to explain historical patterns of transformation among women's colleges as well as the recent outcomes at Wheaton and at Russell Sage. In the history of women's higher education, pressures to conform to forms of "legitimate" organization forced weaker, vulnerable seminaries to model themselves after the collegiate form.³⁹ Then, structurally equivalent, but separate, institutional fields emerged within the "college" rubric. These fields became sources of "mutual awareness among participant organizations" and legitimacy.⁴⁰

Wheaton and Russell Sage both evolved from female seminaries into selective private institutions dedicated to the higher education of women, but when important differences emerged, they identified with colleges having similar student demography, size, wealth, types of curricula, and prestige—not with each other. Wheaton's history, for example, included other examples of swift decision making at the expense of caution. Wheaton's president, contemplating a rapid change from seminary to college in 1910, was unsympathetic to the anger and frustration of opponents who "deplored the changing nature of education for women, as many still did when they surveyed the drive towards collegiate education and the concept of adopting 'men's ways.'"⁴¹ Emma Willard, in contrast, opposed a college education for women, while emphasizing curricular reforms among seminaries.⁴² Willard's stance became institutionalized into a pattern of deliberation and caution when the seminary and the college contemplated change. Troy Seminary, for example, did not acquire a collegiate charter until the Russell Sage family provided a substantial sum of endowment in 1916.

The Russell Sage "family" demonstrated greater loyalty and commitment, measured, for example, by comparing the annual giving patterns of alumnae. Figure 5 shows that between 1975 and 1988, a crucial period of declining enrollments for both colleges, Russell Sage increased the percentage of alumnae participation from 30 percent to 48 percent, and the amount of donations from \$150,000 to \$420,000. During the same period, Wheaton lost a sizeable number of alumnae contributors, though the total amount of voluntary support increased.⁴³

Wheaton used more elaborate admissions criteria that yielded students from fairly homogeneous and socially privileged backgrounds. Russell Sage's selection processes and greater emphasis on vocational education led to the recruitment of heterogeneous students with diverse career aspirations.⁴⁴ From the outset, Emma Willard and her pupils stressed the importance of preparing women for work as well as for family roles.⁴⁵

Figure 5: Alumni Donors as % of Alumni of Record for Wheaton and Russell Sage Colleges 1969-1988



Russell Sage and Wheaton, having entered into different organizational fields after becoming colleges, looked to different institutions for solutions to the enrollment problem. The enrollment options committee at Russell Sage College initially gathered data from many sources, but focused on a small group of closely related, similar institutions. A committee member reported:

We were no longer paying attention to tons of data collected by our committee staff. We agreed only to read reports prepared by two colleges which recently became coeducational institutions: Skidmore College and Vassar College....Vassar College's report was different...partly because Vassar used the coeducational curriculum as a device to improve its academic programs, namely its fine arts program. Vassar was interested in male students who might be fine arts or performing arts majors. Finally, we studied the situation at Skidmore and Simmons....any items from [Skidmore and] Simmons caught our eyes.⁴⁶

The targets of information were thus narrowed to Skidmore College, which had recently become a coeducational institution and Simmons College, a single-sex institution since its founding.⁴⁷ A Skidmore dean had collected anecdotal evidence that women were hurt by coeducation, and concluded that "at Skidmore, women are increasingly discouraged from par-

ticipating in campus leadership positions.⁴⁸ The report, despite its limited scope, profoundly influenced Russell Sage's decision-makers. "That really did it!" the president exclaimed, "even though we were suspicious of this before."⁴⁹ Information about single-sex education at Simmons College strengthened the case. Longstanding ties between Russell Sage and Simmons College were strengthened by personnel exchanges. Several faculty members moved from Simmons to Sage, and the Russell Sage president was previously the Simmons provost.⁵⁰ Leaders at Russell Sage noted that Simmons admitted women of diverse ages, while enhancing career-oriented programs such as nursing, business, and public service. A career education alternative for maintaining enrollments was particularly suited to Russell Sage, with its diverse curriculum that emphasized vocational and public service. Prior financial crises led Russell Sage to create graduate, evening and adult, and junior college divisions that enhanced tuition revenues. Therefore, leaders at Russell Sage focused on information from Simmons, a single-sex institution with a student market similar to its own and with considerable emphasis on vocational education for women. Having reaffirmed its commitment to single-sex education, the Russell Sage institutional network continued to include Simmons and Hood.

Though never a strong competitor to the Seven Sisters in the enrollment market, Wheaton's continued emphasis on selectivity and a strong liberal arts curriculum led its officials to be more attentive to Wellesley, Smith, and Mount Holyoke than to less selective colleges, despite other dissimilarities.⁵¹ But during the coeducation controversy, Wheaton chose to align itself with leading New England coeducational colleges—Williams, Bowdoin, Trinity, and Connecticut. Wheaton trustees assumed responsibility for long-range planning after the faculty reported its inability "to reach a concrete agreement regarding the future plan." A perceived "growing crisis of female applicants," instilled a sense of urgency in the trustees.⁵² The trustees appeared to rely on an impressive number of information sources, but accorded special weight to the experiences of Vassar, Goucher, Connecticut College, and Skidmore—similar colleges that recently and successfully adopted coeducation.⁵³ At least two Wheaton trustees, and some faculty representatives, visited Connecticut College to learn about that college's transition to coeducation.⁵⁴ The president of Wheaton stated that the Twelve-College Exchange, coeducational schools that formerly had been single-sex, would provide a strong reference group: "Wheaton can learn much from their experience as we make our transition from single sex to coeducation."⁵⁵ Institutional mimicry was not conducted in a predatory or coercive fashion; the successful institutions in a field were willing to assist followers.⁵⁶

Why, then, didn't Wheaton reaffirm its single-sex mission, thereby following Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, and Mount Holyoke? Such a reaf-

firmation would have further weakened Wheaton's declining standing in the prestige hierarchy among women's colleges. Wheaton could now distance itself from the hegemony of the Seven Sisters. After a year of coeducation, one senior administrator at Wheaton stated, "We no longer have to sit in the backyard of Wellesley, Smith, and Mount Holyoke and be regarded as a rather distant cousin. We are now looking at leading coeducational college markets."⁵⁷ Wheaton drew closer to similar former women's colleges that opted for coeducation, such as Connecticut College and Skidmore College, and to formerly male colleges, such as Bowdoin and Trinity.

Table 2 displays patterns of student choice of colleges among groups of institutions that include Russell Sage and Wheaton. This table shows a fair degree of stability in the list of Sage competitors between 1985 and 1988—years that straddled the decision to remain single-sex. Wheaton, in contrast, moved into a different institutional field—including Williams, Bowdoin, Trinity, and Boston College—after becoming coeducational.

Table 2: Approximate Ranking of College Choices among Applicants to Russell Sage and to Wheaton College

Russell Sage		Wheaton	
<u>1985</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1988*</u>
Simmons	Simmons	Mount Holyoke	Connecticut
Ithaca	Ithaca	Connecticut	Mount Holyoke
Siena	Skidmore	Skidmore	Boston College
Skidmore	Siena	Smith	Vassar
Vassar	Hartwick	Wellesley	Bowdoin
	Hood College	Vassar	Skidmore
			Williams
			Trinity

Note: This table was constructed from the College Entrance Examination Board's annual survey of college applicants. Rank ordering is based on requests made by applicants to send their SAT scores to respective institutions. Such a request is not necessarily an indicator of seriousness since the student still is at a tentative stage of the application process. Therefore, this table is no more than an approximation.

*In 1988, Wheaton admitted males for the first time.

Isomorphism thus helps to explain the development and transformation of our focal colleges. To understand the dynamics of isomorphism, we examined how rules and actors drove these organizational actions. Theories of organizational decision making have recently undergone substantial change. The classical form of decision making assumes that organizations base choices upon well-defined preferences. Our interpretation is not based on the self-evident assumptions of the classical theory of choice. Rather, the logic of choice making at these organizations was more contex-

tual and interpretative, conditions within which institutional isomorphism had an effect. Recent research suggests that ambiguity beleaguers organizational life.⁵⁸ Ambiguous preferences, for example, challenge the conventional logic that preferences precede action in decision making. Preferences, instead, are discovered through action. Thus, it is more important to interpret and understand the meaning of a decision retrospectively than to judge the outcome.⁵⁹

Initially the Wheaton and Russell Sage decision makers conducted systematic inquiries with an eye to the consequences of their decisions, as the rational model would predict. Wheaton trustees, claimed the board chair, seriously considered coeducation because of "economic necessity and survival of the college in the long run."⁶⁰ Yet the decision makers disregarded much information that might be used in choice making as each college faced increased ambiguity. Leaders focused on key institutions in the field perceived to be central to their choice. Wheaton trustees emphasized reasonably successful transformations from single-sex to coeducation at Connecticut, Vassar, and Skidmore. Wheaton, the trustees concluded, would fare better if it moved out of the organizational field encompassing Wellesley, Smith, and Mount Holyoke since the college lacked their endowments, prestige, and applicant markets.

Wheaton trustees, lacking foreknowledge of the consequences of their decisions, made their decision according to historical and organizational appropriateness, rather than on the basis of a systematic search for the optimal alternative.⁶¹ The record included no discussion of "the new partnership between men and women" before the decision, but the president emphasized a redefined coeducation in subsequent speeches aimed at assuring constituencies about the wisdom of the move. Wheaton leaders moved to a "construction of intention" after the fact.⁶²

Historically based rules for defining action also guided the decision at less prestigious and financially more strained Russell Sage, where the choice to remain single-sex might have caused more short term damage. The enrollment options committee, after making a choice consistent with these norms, tried to match their intention to the action. Russell Sage's multidivisional structure appeared to provide a buffer that accorded rationality to the decision to remain single-sex. But the buffer was clearly inadequate, since the college experienced a substantial decline in applicants between 1978 and 1987. More likely, decision makers harnessed this logic after the fact to bolster their decision. In any event, Russell Sage officials did not compile the information that might justify further expansion of an applicant pool that already included aspirants to many different programs.

Indeed, the information collection process at both colleges involved surveillance, not a systematic search.⁶³ Wheaton and Russell Sage gathered massive amounts of information. But Wheaton and Russell Sage offi-

cials, respectively, emphasized anecdotal evidence from Vassar, Connecticut, and Goucher, and from Simmons and Skidmore. This evidence was not an ingredient for action but a source of reaffirmation of "appropriate" organizational choices.⁶⁴ As ambiguity about the probable success of the chosen alternative increased, decision makers created symbols that acknowledged the organization's shared interpretation of reality and minimized or deterred post-decision disappointments.⁶⁵

Faced with potential enrollment declines, the president of Wheaton took pains to show how the college's problems matched the solution with the symbolic "new partnership" in coeducation.⁶⁶ Such an explanation or interpretation was found by linking Wheaton to traditional single sex colleges that recently became successful coeducational colleges—Connecticut, Skidmore, and Vassar.⁶⁷ The search for an institutional model and mimetic actions were critical to Wheaton's actions.

Russell Sage officials, paying more attention to the symbolism of the decision than to the possible consequences, had less need to invoke shared values.⁶⁸ Still, these officials offered mixing "education and the world of work" in vocational programs, such as nursing and business, as a symbol for those who might need it—a symbol in keeping with the philosophy of Emma Willard.⁶⁹ The association with Simmons College—a successful single sex institution with similar organizational goals—reinforced the choice made at Russell Sage. Decision makers at each college, nevertheless, constantly reassured their respective communities that they had made legitimate and responsible choices after careful planning, analysis, and systematic use of information.

Most conventional studies of decision making treat choice in terms of a decision process that defines constraints and opportunities placed on participants, but some recent studies emphasize that the allocation of attention among decision actors explains outcomes. James March introduced the idea of "choice opportunity."⁷⁰ Decision making in an organization may be dependent on who is available to attend to which problems at a given state and who is attentive to which solutions. The idea is that individuals and groups are involved at different points of decision processes; not all individuals and groups in an organization exercise their influence simultaneously. Complexities associated with the allocation of attention often result in unexpected outcomes in decision processes.

At Wheaton, the president asked the faculty planning group, which he established in 1985, to examine the problem of declining applicants. The president and the trustees hoped to have a plan of action from the faculty group, but the year went by without taking any concrete action. The vagaries of demands placed on faculty members and the divergent attention spans and interests of faculty actors led to an emphasis on curricular issues, especially women's studies, at the expense of coeducation. The faculty effort to tackle long range planning, including coeducation, a senior fac-

ulty member lamented, led to the establishment of two dozen ad hoc committees and many hopelessly divided debates.⁷¹

The trustees grew impatient as they observed a stalemate largely caused by weak faculty leadership. Wheaton's 1986 applicant market condition, they concluded, demanded a decisive move. The trustees held retreats in which the problem—the relatively smaller number of female applicants and the implications for future enrollments—and the solution—coeducation—became clear at the same time.⁷² This confluence presented a "choice opportunity" for the trustees. "In a position of strength," the chair argued, "we should make a major strategic move now."⁷³ The lack of sustained attention among the faculty leaders presented an opportunity for the trustees, led by a decisive chair, to claim the coeducation issue.

Russell Sage trustees confronted many important issues in early 1987, and coeducation received less trustee attention than decisions involving the physical plant and curriculum.⁷⁴ The trustees drifted from a mild interest in coeducation to inattention and indecisiveness. The faculty planning group, in contrast, extensively studied the issues related to coeducation. Vocal leaders from the social sciences and women's studies discussed detailed analyses of how coeducation might or might not work at Sage. An active group of alumnae, which held at least a dozen planning meetings over two years, supported this faculty activity.⁷⁵ By the time the trustees studied the situation, the issue rode on a larger wave of support from faculty, students, and alumnae. A majority of the trustees had little to add to the prevailing opinion, while anecdotes from Skidmore College that suggested a damaging effect of coeducation swayed the undecided board members. The connection between the problem and the solution then seemed at hand. Actors, problems, and solutions in organizations, in these two cases, were loosely linked. The logic of choice making, therefore, may be explained partly by the allocation of attention among diverse actors. The point at which particular groups gained access to the decision processes in these organizations seems to have affected the type of information deemed useful.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

During the nineteenth century, observed Carl N. Degler, the movement for female education spread swiftly and successfully, but higher education was viewed as a male prerogative because it prepared students for vocations restricted to men.⁷⁶ Seminaries were the alternative institutional form of women's education; they were later replaced by women's colleges. Seminaries and early women's colleges, plagued by financial difficulties and criticized for their less rigorous curricula and unqualified faculties, soon modelled themselves after what appeared to be more legitimate and more successful forms.⁷⁷

We have examined the role of isomorphism in explaining contrasting key decisions that represent further steps in the evolution of two single-sex colleges. The history of women's educational institutions suggests the importance of organizational networks for understanding the decisions at Wheaton and at Russell Sage. Each college was part of a defined structure, or organizational field, in which changes in one organization led to changes in others.⁷⁸ Wheaton may have modeled itself after Connecticut College, while Russell Sage turned to Simmons College to reaffirm its single-sex structure.

A historical dimension may often be critical for understanding decisions in organizations. Wheaton was at risk in a declining market of women students who desired single-sex education. Such students were more likely to turn to the prestigious Seven Sisters, with whom Wheaton could not compete. Steeped in a long history of upper middle class education, it was easier for Wheaton to forsake femaleness than to adopt a more broad-based class approach, such as vocational education. Russell Sage's tradition of preparing women for work roles made it more natural to extrapolate vocational curricula than to admit men.

As organizations face increased ambiguity in turbulent environments, decision makers experience difficulty in matching organizational performance to goals. At Wheaton, maintaining the long-standing single-sex mission became increasingly difficult as the prospect of keeping up with the applicant pool began to dwindle in the 1980s. Wheaton trustees, convinced that the chances were poor for finding a desirable solution to this problem as a single-sex institution, solved their uncertainty by introducing coeducation. In attempting to match this solution to a problem, Wheaton invoked the need for a new partnership between men and women.

Russell Sage faced similar environmental uncertainty resulting from the general decline in demand for single-sex education, but its officials perceived a stronger possibility for solving the problem without altering the institutional mission. An apparently flexible and differentiated structure, and strong student and alumnae sentiment, encouraged Russell Sage officials to reaffirm the principle of single sex college education for women despite an ever-narrowing niche. Wheaton offered symbols of change, while Russell Sage emphasized the symbolism of refusing to change. The leaders of both colleges successfully harnessed symbols to interpret their chosen actions. In fact, symbols minimized post-decision disappointments, and were important expressions of the leaders' competence and authority.

This analysis confirms the importance of institutional explanations of decision making. The relationship of organizations to their environments appears to have played a major role in these decisions, but so did internal processes and the attention of key decision makers. Wheaton College and Russell Sage College are two important representatives of higher educational institutions for women.

Perhaps the major shortcoming of our study is its reliance on retrospective interviews and the reconstruction of events surrounding the decisions made. Unfortunately, it would have been even more difficult to gain access to the key decision makers during the process. Further research should assess the relative effects of beliefs on decision making, given environmental constraints—especially the role of rationality in the face of uncertainty. This study may guide such research by demonstrating the importance of the institutional environment, organizational leaders, and the rational and symbolic aspects of decision making. Russell Sage and Wheaton made seemingly rational decisions; yet they adopted different institutional forms. Attention to the complex forces that enter into organizational decision making clarifies this paradox.

NOTES

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1. Interview with the outgoing chair of the board of trustees of Wheaton College, April 1, 1988, Cambridge, Mass.
2. See J. Pfeffer, and G. Salancik, *The External Control of Organizations* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), Paul J. DiMaggio, and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review*, 48 (1983), 147-160, L.G. Zucker, and P.S. Tolbert, "Institutional Sources of Change in the Formal Structure of Organizations: The Diffusion of Work Service Reform, 1880-1935," paper presented at the annual meeting of American Sociological Association (Toronto, Canada, 1981), and R.R. Nelson, and S.G. Winter, *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change* (Boston, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1982).
3. See Michael D. Cohen, and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through," *Public Administration Review*, 19 (1959), 79-99, P. Slovic, B. Fischhoff, and S. Lichtenstein, "Behavioral Decision Theory," *Annual Review of Psychology*, 28 (1977), 1-39, and Amos Tversky, and Daniel Kahneman, "Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases," *Science*, 185 (1974), 1124-1131.
4. See J.M. Beyer, "Ideologies, Values, and Decision-making in Organizations," in Paul C. Nystrom and William H. Starbuck, eds., *Handbook of Organizational Design*. (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1981), S. Christensen, "Decision-making and Socialization," in James G. March and J.P. Olsen, eds., *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations* (Bergen, Norway: University of Norway, 1976), M.S. Feldman, and James G. March, "Information in Organizations as Signal and Symbol," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 26 (1981), 171-186, and W.A. Gamson, *Power and Discontent* (Homewood, Ill: Dorsey, 1968).

5. See M. Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1960), J. Richard Harrison, and James G. March, "Decision-making and Post-decision Surprises," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 29 (1984), 26-42, and L. Sproul, S.S. Weiner, and D. Wolf, *Organizing an Anarchy* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1978). See also J. Hirschleifer, and J.G. Riley, "The Analytics of Uncertainty and Information—An Expository Survey," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 17 (1979), 1375-1421.
6. In the course of our fieldwork, we interviewed 18 individuals. They include two presidents (one from each institution) six trustee members (three from each college including chairs of the boards and chairs of key subcommittees involved with planning), two institutional historians (one from each institution), two additional faculty members (one from each), four administrators (two from each), and two alumni leaders. We were limited in our attempts to gain first-hand information from key meetings at Wheaton College. Legal disputes between alumnae and the college made college representatives wary of our attendance at trustee meetings. We therefore relied much more on documents and on a limited number of interviews in our analysis of the events at Wheaton.
7. A long retreat preceded this annual meeting and not all trustees participated in this retreat.
8. Interview with a recent Wheaton graduate, February 16, 1988. A similar remark was expressed by a graduate. See "Wheaton Case Gets Court Date," the *Providence Journal Bulletin*, March 8, 1988.
9. *Newsweek*, April 27, 1987.
10. The Bristol County Probate Court issued a final court order granting Wheaton's request to use its assets for coeducation, but the suits filed by nine individuals concerning the use of the Campaign funds led to setting legal limits on the future uses of the funds. On the baccalaureate, see Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1983).
11. Memorandum from the trustee chairman, May 24, 1987.
12. From an interview by Sarah Lyall of the *New York Times*, April 26, 1987.
13. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 20, 1987, 30-31.
14. Interview with the outgoing chairman of the Wheaton trustees, April 1, 1988, Cambridge, Mass.
15. Interview with the outgoing chairman, April 1, 1988, Cambridge, Mass.
16. Memorandum from the president of Wheaton College, January 28, 1987.
17. From an interview by Shawn Gazin of the *Knickerbocker News*, May 16, 1987.
18. *Times-Union*, Albany, N.Y., July, 1987.
19. Interview with the president of Russell Sage College, February 26, 1988, Troy, N.Y.
- 40 HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL

20. See G.R. Carroll, and J. Delacroix, "Organizational Foundings: An Ecological Study of the Newspaper Industries of Argentina and Ireland," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 28 (1982), 274-291, G.R. Carroll, "Organizational Ecology," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 10 (1984), 71-93, M.T. Hannan, and J.H. Freeman, "The Population Ecology of Organizations," in M.W. Meyer et al., eds., *Environments and Organizations* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1978), 177-199, and Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Social Structure and Organizations," in James G. March, ed., *Handbook of Organizations*, (Chicago, Ill.: Rand-McNally, 1965), 142-193.
21. See G.L. Cafferata, "The Building of Democratic Organizations: An Embryological Metaphor," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 27 (1982), 280-303, and M. Meyer, "Persistence and Change in Bureaucratic Structures," paper presented at the annual meeting of American Sociological Association (Toronto, Ontario, 1981).
22. Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited," 143, 148.
23. Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 309.
24. See Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990).
25. For more extensive evidence see Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols., (New York: Octagon Books, 1979 [1929]).
26. See J. Patton, *Russell Sage College: The First Twenty-five years, 1916-1941* (Troy, N.Y.: Walter Snyder, 1941).
27. See H.E. Paine, *The Life of Eliza Baylies Wheaton: A Chapter in the History of the Higher Education of Woman* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1907).
28. Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 441.
29. See Barbara M. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985).
30. See Patricia A. Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," *Signs*, 3 (1978), 759-773, and Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Limits of Access: The History of Coeducation in America," in John M. Faragher and Florence Howe, eds., *Women and Higher Education in American History*, (New York: Norton, 1988), 107-129.
31. See Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 19.
32. President of Wheaton Seminary in his speech to the trustees, 1897, quoted in P.C. Helmreich, *Wheaton College, 1834-1912: The Seminary Years* (Norton, Mass: Wheaton College, 1986), 72.
33. See Helen L. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, (New York: Knopf, 1984) and Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, *passim*.

34. L. Zucker, "Organizations as Institutions," in S. Bacharach, ed., *Research in the Sociology of Organizations* vol. 2. (Greenwich, Conn: JAI, 1983).
35. P.C. Helmreich, *Wheaton College*, 62, and G.H. Hubbard, "Wheaton Seminary, Norton, Mass," *New England Magazine*, 18 (1) (1898), 102-115.
36. J. Patton, *Russell Sage College*, 26.
37. L.G. Zucker, and P.S. Tolbert, "Institutional Sources of Change," *passim*.
38. See Richard M. Cyert, and James G. March, *A Behavioral Theory of the Firm* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).
39. See A.C. Cole, *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College: The Evolution of Educational Idea* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940), P.C. Helmreich, *Wheaton College*, *passim*, Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), and Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, *passim*.
40. Paul J. DiMaggio, and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited," *passim*.
41. P.C. Helmreich, *Wheaton College*, 86.
42. Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, 138, and J. Patton, *Russell Sage College*, 9.
43. After 1987, the percentage of alumni support to the total amount of financial support declined at Wheaton. This sudden drop in voluntary support may be explained by the fact that Wheaton completed its Sesquicentennial campaign in 1987. The level of alumni support after it became a coeducational college in 1988. In addition, Wheaton reportedly returned \$127,000 to 56 donors who asked for their donation back in 1988. It was done under an out-of-court settlement. Many of 56 donors are alumni (see *New York Times*, March 8, 1989). This form of repayment might have contributed to the total amount in 1988.
44. See G.F. Shepard, "Female Education at Wheaton College," *New England Quarterly*, 1 (4) (1933), 804-824, and J. Patton, *Russell Sage College*, *passim*.
45. A. Lutz, *Emma Willard, Daughter of Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing, 1929), and Ann Prior Scott, "The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1822-1872," *History of Education Quarterly*, 19 (1979), 3-25.
46. Interview with a senior member of the board of trustees of Russell Sage College, March 30, 1988, Troy, N.Y.
47. R.R. Nelson, and S.G. Winter, *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change*, *passim*.
48. From "A Decade of Coeducation: A Report and Some Recommendations, Skidmore College, 1971-1981," by Francine Hoffman, Dean of Students, Skidmore College.
49. Interview with the president of Russell Sage College, February 26, 1988, Troy, N.Y.
- 42 HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL

50. J. Patton, *Russell Sage College*, passim.
51. See Elaine Kendall, *Peculiar Institutions. An Informal History of the Seven Sister Colleges* (New York: Putnam, 1976), and James M. Taylor, *Vassar* (New York: Info Press, 1915).
52. Interview with the outgoing chairman of the board of trustees of Wheaton College, April 1, 1988, Cambridge, Mass.
53. Interview with a senior member of the board of trustees of Wheaton College, May 14, 1988, Boston.
54. Interview with a member of the board of trustees of Wheaton College, May 14, 1988, Boston.
55. Interview with the president of Wheaton College, August 16, 1988, Norton, Mass.
56. M. Levi, "The Predatory Theory of Rule," *Politics and Society*, 10 (1981), 431-463.
57. Deirdre Carmody, "Wheaton Assesses First Co-ed Year," *New York Times*, March 8, 1989.
58. See A.O. Hirschman, *Development Projects Observed* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967), James G. March, "Decision Making Perspective: Decisions in Organizations and Theories of Choice," in A.H. Van de Ven and W.F. Joyce, eds., *Perspectives in Organization Design and Behavior* (New York: Wiley, 1981), and W.H. Starbuck, "Acting First and Thinking Later: Theory Versus Reality in Strategic Change," in J.M. Penning, et. al., eds., *Organizational Strategy and Change* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1986).
59. See Richard E. Neustadt, and E.R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Use of History for Decision-makers* (New York: Free Press, 1988).
60. Interview with a member of the board of trustees of Wheaton College, May 14, 1989. See also "Twenty Tough Questions about Co-Education," *Wheaton Alumni Magazine*, Spring 1987.
61. Jon Elster, *Sour Grapes: Studies in the Subversion of Rationality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
62. See, for example, James G. March, and J.P. Olsen, *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations* (Bergen, Norway: University of Norway, 1976), and K.E. Weick, "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21 (1976), 1-19.
63. See Harold L. Wilensky, *Organizational Intelligence: Knowledge and Policy in Government and Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), and Martha S. Feldman, and James G. March, "Information in Organizations as Signal and Symbol."
64. Martha S. Feldman, and James G. March, "Information in Organizations as Signal and Symbol."

65. See Burton R. Clark, "Organizational Saga in Higher Education," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 17 (2) (1972), 178-186, and M. Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, passim; Richard Harrison, and James G. March, "Decision-making and Post-decision Surprises," and L. Sproul, S.S. Weiner, and D. Wolf, *Organizing an Anarchy*.
66. Memorandum from the president of Wheaton College to the Wheaton community, January 28, 1987.
67. Interview with the president of Wheaton College, August 16, 1988, Norton, Mass.
68. Robert Nisbet, and L. Ross, *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980).
69. Memorandum from the president of Russell Sage College, January 28, 1987.
70. See James G. March, and J.P. Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1989), J.W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Boston, Mass.: Little Brown, 1984), and James G. March, "Footnotes to Organizational Change," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 26 (1981), 563-577.
71. Interview with member of Wheaton faculty, August 16, 1988, Norton, Mass.
72. Interview with the outgoing chair of Wheaton's Trustees, April 1, 1988, Cambridge, Mass.
73. Interview with the chair of the Russell Sage Trustees, May 2, 1988, Troy, N.Y.
74. Interview with the outgoing chair of Wheaton's Trustees, April 1, 1988, Cambridge, Mass.
75. Interview with Russell Sage College faculty member, May 2, 1988, Troy, N.Y.; interview with Director of Alumni Affairs, Russell Sage, April 22, 1988.
76. Carl N. Degler, *At Odds*, passim.
77. Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, passim.
78. See Paul J. DiMaggio, and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited," passim.

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The Hebrew Technion in Haifa, Israel (1902-1950): Academic and National Dilemmas

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THE IDEA OF A TECHNION—AN INSTITUTE for higher technical education in what was then Palestine and later Israel—gradually changed between the time of its 1902 founding until it took its present form after 1931.¹ During the planning stage (1902-1920) initiated by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a leading Zionist, and his colleagues, and the first decade (1921-1931), political and educational leaders debated whether the institution should train technicians in a higher level technical school, or should train graduate engineers in an academic and scientific institution. The first decade, denoted by rapid a succession of principals, also featured debates over the Technion's relationships with other nascent institutions, especially the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Reali Hebrew Secondary School in Haifa. Resolution of these issues during the directorship (1931-1950) of Shlomo Kaplansky, a key labor movement leader, focused attention on subsidiary, though significant, questions: should the institute offer secondary technical education to the general population, or emphasize postsecondary instruction to specialists? Should the Technion recruit students from Haifa and its environs, the country, or world Jewry?

This article places these dilemmas in the context of problems common to the early history of academic institutions.² The debate about the nature of the proposed institute of technology revolved around contradicting German influences and indigenous ideologies. But other higher education systems exhibited similar problems. This article, therefore, adds to our knowledge of the history of Israeli education, and of the relationship between higher technical education and other parts of education systems of developing countries.

The Zionist Organization began to debate the idea of an institution for higher technical education in Ottoman-governed Palestine in 1902, when Martin Buber, Berthold Feivel (a close associate of Theodor Herzl, considered the founder of Zionism), and Chaim Weizmann published a plan for "a Jewish institution of higher learning" that provided for technological studies. The authors were key figures in the "Democratic Fraction" within the Zionist Organization, a party that supported "synthetic Zionism" that was at once practical, intellectual, and political. This party emphasized continuing local activity towards establishing a Jewish homeland and in-

tellectual center in *Eretz Israel* (the *Yishuv*), as the Zionists called the envisioned state, but also supported international steps towards that end.

The writers, noting growing limits on access to European academic training, stressed the need for a Jewish university. Quota systems in Russian secondary and higher education limited Jews to between two and ten percent of the student body, while central European universities were almost completely closed to Jews. These limitations seriously impaired the professional development and work opportunities of Jewish youth and prevented Jewish industry from establishing itself in Russia. The proposed university in *Eretz Israel* would realize the ideal of "personal and national liberation," while relieving restrictions. Buber, Feivel, and Weizmann proposed England or Switzerland as temporary sites until the university could be transferred to the Jewish homeland.

The proposed institutional structure resembled the German model with which they were familiar. An affiliated technical school would be associated with the university to prepare Jewish youth for the "institution of higher learning" or for "technical, agricultural, and other subjects." Graduates, respectively, would be "senior technicians (engineers) and teachers of technical subjects" or "practical technicians with professional training." The plan's authors deliberately avoided details—the connection between the intermediate and higher level of technical training, for example—and merely referred readers to "Technions in Geneva, Biel, Winterthur, Cothen, and elsewhere" as central European examples of intermediate technical education.³

Menachem Ussishkin, a Russian Zionist who supported practical activity, presented the Buber-Feivel-Weizmann plan to a 1903 meeting at *Zichron Ya'akov* near Haifa—a unique attempt to convene representatives of the Jewish community in *Eretz Israel*—and to a teachers' convention that met immediately afterwards. The teachers meeting, which founded the still-active Teachers' Organization, resolved that the Jewish institution of higher learning should be established only in *Eretz Israel*, and that, because of current needs, "such an institution of higher learning should be a polytechnical institute like schools overseas" that admitted graduates of levels equivalent to "a European middle school."

The teachers' convention thus provided moral support for a technological institute, but neither the three European Zionists, nor the landmark convention brought the Technion idea to fruition. This fell to Dr. Paul Nathan, a non-Zionist worker in the Jewish community. Nathan headed *Ezra-Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden*. Ezra, founded in Berlin in 1901, concentrated on the relief of emigrants and European riot victims. Nathan suggested a Jewish higher technical institute in Haifa during a tour of Ezra's educational institutions in Palestine, and elicited the support of other non-Zionists, including New York philanthropist Jacob Schiff. But Nathan also collaborated with Zionists, based on a mutual interest in technical educa-

tion. In 1908, for example, Nathan and Zionist leaders Schmaryahu Levin and Ahad Ha-am founded the Wissotsky Fund, named for its key supporter. That same year, the Jewish National Fund of the Zionist Organization helped Ezra acquire a plot on Mount Carmel in Haifa.

Administrative and physical planning for the technical institute began in 1909, when Ezra established an association with its own governors and executive board to support the Technikum, as it was called, and an affiliated secondary school. The governors placed Dr. Arthur Biram at the head of the Reali School, a secondary institution intended to function in conjunction with the Technikum. Dr. Biram held doctorates in Islamic culture and in philosophy, as well as a government teaching license. He was, moreover, an ordained rabbi, having studied at the Hochmat Institute in Berlin.

Construction of the new school and of the main Technikum building started in 1912, and was nearly completed in 1913 when the "Language War" broke out. This dispute aggravated growing tensions between Zionists who worked at the new institution and the Ezra Society, oriented towards German culture. The governors accepted Dr. Nathan's proposal to make German the main instructional language, thereby prompting the resignations of Biram, board chair Ahad Ha-am, and other Zionists who favored maximum use of Hebrew. The Teachers' Association led a fierce community-wide struggle against the decision, and against all Ezra educational institutions.

A protest meeting in Haifa resolved to establish a separate Hebrew Reali School, and in December, 1913, 60 Ezra pupils and their teachers left their new building, and established the Hebrew Reali School in a nearby synagogue. The inner executive of the Zionist Organization, meeting in Berlin, ratified the Zionist position and appointed Biram head of the new school. The dispute delayed completion and opening of the Technikum, still financed by Ezra. Failed compromise attempts and the outbreak of war in 1914 led the Ezra Society to declare the Technikum Association bankrupt, and to evict the Jewish National Fund and the Zionist Organization from the buildings. But Ezra's educational activities in Palestine collapsed during the war, and German, Turkish, and British armies, in turn, occupied the Technikum buildings. The structures were sold to the Zionist Organization in 1920, and the struggle over the Technion ended with a victory for the Hebrew element.

A debate over the level and function of the emergent institution accompanied the linguistic dispute. Would the Technikum graduate engineers for the country and the Near East? Or would it be an intermediate-level vocational school that trained technicians, practical engineers, and foremen, as envisioned by Ezra's professional committee of 1909? The 1909 proposal saw the institute as a secondary school, accompanied by a center that offered short courses to trades and crafts people, and by research laboratories.

The Reali School's 1914 "Programme of Studies for All Classes" reflected the Ezra spirit, despite the organizational and ideological rift between the two institutions. Noting that it prepared (male) pupils for the Technikum, the program announced:

The aim of our School...is to give our pupils technical knowledge (through manual labor)...and a theoretical foundation that will prepare them to work independently....Although ours is an academic institution,...our chief desire is to give our pupils a nationally oriented Hebrew education...the desired goal—to make our school an education for work, intellectual and physical, we must educate our sons to order and exactitude in work.⁴

The minimalist aim of the Reali School under Biram found ready support in the Zionist Organization, when it became involved with the Technion.

Meanwhile, in 1913, the Expanded Zionist Executive Committee asked Weizmann, Feivel, and Leo Motzkin, also of the Democratic Fraction, to investigate the possibility of establishing a university in Jerusalem. Buber, on his own initiative, soon joined them—hence the similarity between the 1902 plan and the 1913 report to the Zionist Congress in Vienna. Weizmann explained his long-standing plan for the step by step development of a university from small research institutes to instructional departments and faculties. The Germanic academic concept excluded engineering and technology from the Hebrew university, which emphasized the humanities and basic research, leaving these subjects for the *technische hochschulen* of somewhat lower status. Ahad Ha'am, a leader of intellectual Zionism, and chair of the Technion Board of Governors since 1910—Weizmann was his vice chairman—supported Weizmann's position. The two Zionists emphasized the immediate need for research institutes, saw the Jerusalem and Haifa institutions as complementary, and assumed that the Technion might eventually become part of the Jewish university.⁵

Ze'ev Jabotinsky, a staunch political Zionist, opposed this separation of academic research in Jerusalem from technical training in Haifa. Jabotinsky, influenced by American practice, instead proposed that a comprehensive university in Jerusalem conduct theoretical and practical research, and offer instruction in all academic areas from the outset. The delegates to the 1913 Congress preferred Weizmann's German orientation and asked his committee to continue preparations for circumscribed research centers in Jerusalem, without the technological institute.

The argument between Weizmann, Ahad Ha'am, and Jabotinsky reflected differing Zionist concepts, as well as personal differences between strong-willed leaders. Weizmann, supporting "synthetic Zionism," was a tireless practitioner; Ahad Ha'am was an authentic representative of the intellectual Zionism; Jabotinsky was a zealous political Zionist.

Weizmann also refuted criticism from even more "practical" delegates to the 1913 Congress—the heads of the labor movement in *Eretz Israel*. Writers Yosef Aronovitz and Yosef Haim Brenner, for example, suspected that the university might draw resources away from settlement activity. A university, Weizmann responded, could help implement many future practical activities.

Financial considerations reinforced the ideological outcome. The practical Zionists who comprised the Zionist Organization's inner executive (*Engers Aktions Comite*—EAC or SAC) wanted to gain control of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the organization's central financial instrument, from a leadership that exercised caution in investing in *Eretz Israel*. The Trust eventually accepted EAC's practical, active policy, while remaining in the same hands. Circumscribed investments inhibited the university's subsequent development, and permitted the Technion to develop only as a secondary institution.

Weizmann used the language crisis in Haifa to strengthen the concept of an institute of higher learning in Jerusalem, while reducing the Technion to a more technical secondary school. He avoided the Language War so as not to offend his German Zionist colleagues, and did not assume the head of the Technion Board of Governors when Ahad Ha'am resigned, though as deputy he should have done so. Weizmann separated the simultaneous preparations to establish the university from the transfer of the Technion to the Zionist Organization. After the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the Armistice that ended World War I, Weizmann and Ussishkin were chosen to superintend Zionist Organization activities in *Eretz Israel*, with the approval of the British. Their committee also renewed preparations for the university, halted by the war. Weizmann and Ussishkin presented updated versions of the 1902 and 1913 proposals, which retained the emphasis on research centers over undergraduate instruction, to the 1920 Zionist convention in London. The Zionist Organization's continued financial difficulties throughout the 1920s, and diminished expectations for an influx of students resulting from the difficulties of leaving Russia reinforced this research orientation. Zionists who favored undergraduate education would have to wait until the number of potential students increased. The Hebrew University thus opened in 1925 as a small number of research centers, pushing the Technion down to an "intermediate" level, well below that of an institution of higher learning.

Weizmann's preference for the university over the marginal, "secondary" level Technion became fully evident in the 1920 plan. "The Board of Governors of the Technion Society, which prepared all the plans before the War," stated the 1920 report on academic preparations, "is destined to have a standard higher than an ordinary technical school, though slightly lower than that of a university college."⁶ The transfer of the

Technion and of its assets to the Zionist Organization, thus did not change its role from an intermediate level training institution for technicians.

After the British evacuated the Technion premises in 1921, Mordecai (Max) Hecker, the engineer who headed the technical department of the Zionist Organization, was appointed to raise building funds and to supervise the construction. On the eve of the opening of the Haifa institution in 1924, the Hebrew Language Committee, forerunner of the present Hebrew Language Academy, followed the advice of Ahad Ha-am and of Chaim Nachman Bialik, the national poet of the Zionist revival, by choosing the name Technion, based on a Hebrew root that is also part of the non-Hebrew word "technic." In the first academic year, 1924-1925, the Technion offered evening classes for locksmiths, boilermakers, carpenters, electricians, and telephone and telegraph personnel. The Department of Buildings and Roads, later the Faculty of Civil Engineering, and the Department of Architecture also offered courses.

The first two Technion principals, Arthur Blok, an engineer coopted during a year's vacation from his work in London, and Hecker, favored an emphasis on training technicians "at the lower and middle levels." But as principal in 1926 Hecker reversed his position, after internal deliberations, and supported heightened aspirations:

The Technion's functions are increasing—its main function is to train engineers and architects for the special needs of the Jewish community of Palestine in particular....Unlike similar institutions in developed countries, however, the Technion must extend education to other cadres of the technical work force the community needs....Like every institution of higher learning, the Technion must include scientific research...and finally, one cannot ignore the other crucial functions that the Technion, as the only cultural center in Haifa, fills for the Jewish community in this city.⁷

A 1926 executive committee declaration that the institution would be "a school of higher learning with a four-year course of study" provoked a controversy, involving the public, students, and staff, that raged until Hecker departed a year later, and that led to four more years of stopgap management.⁸

The financial situation simultaneously deteriorated, and the curtailed budget from the Zionist Organization hampered two pairs of provisional co-principals: Professor Tcherniavsky and Shmuel Pewsner (1928-1929), and Professors Ilioff and Breuer (1930-1931). During the first of these interregna, the Trade School began to function as a three-year secondary institution, offering courses in lathe operation and locksmithing to elementary school graduates. In 1931, the crisis peaked when the Jewish Agency, representing the Zionist Organization, which still owned the Technion, sent dismissal notices to all teachers and other employees. The Zionist

50 HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL

Organization opted against closure only when Technion teachers waived their salaries.

The changing needs of the Jewish community in the *Yishuv* quickened interest in higher studies after the Technion opened. Advocates of higher technical education, cited "the thirst for knowledge, one of the chief qualities of our people," and noted that "various private institutions" had targeted many matriculation certificate holders. "The purpose of studies [in the original Technikum]," added some advocates, "...was vague and lacked clarity." Secondary school graduates therefore left the country for universities abroad. Conversely, the anticipated influx of Jewish students "suffering from anti-semitic and anti-Zionist persecution" overseas would increase when the Technion became an institution of higher learning. These young people, advocates added, would in turn "act as a force drawing their relatives...who would migrate and "serve as a spiritual link between the Palestinian Jewish community and the Diaspora." The country lacked "rules and regulations for building, for the use of materials, and the like." The Technion would be "especially in a country that is even now in the process of construction, the one institution...authorized to investigate these questions [on an academic level]" and to improve "the education of middle and lower level technical cadres." Finally, Technion activities would not only bring educational benefits to "the entire...Near East;" in addition, "this cultural activity will bring us honour and political benefits. We must not fall behind our neighbors, particularly as regards schools." Proponents of higher studies thus ignored financial difficulties, while raising the practical and intellectual Zionist arguments for technical studies. These proponents united behind the principalship of Shlomo Kaplansky, engineer and labor movement leader. Kaplansky, once installed as principal in 1931, would resolve that "future changes in the Technion should not detract from its value as an institution of higher learning." The financial and ideological crises peaked simultaneously; Kaplansky's election would assure a sustained effort to solve both controversies.

Attempts to absorb the institution into the Hebrew University, and into the Reali School, accompanied the dispute over mission. Ussishkin, then head of the Delegates' Committee that managed the Palestine Jewish community's affairs for the Zionist Organization, and Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist Organization president, presented early merger plans. A 1924 proposal for a joint fund under the jurisdiction of Judah Lieb Magnes, president of the Hebrew University, was rejected. In 1925, the Technion directorate in London favored an administrative and budgetary union, but in Munich, the Hebrew University's administrative committee rejected the merger. In 1926, a merger would have occurred if the London Friends of the Hebrew University had not turned down Arthur Blok's budget requests. David Eder, whom Weizmann named to work with both institutions, and Louis Green, engineer and adviser to the Hebrew University, made a final

proposal, but Magnes and the Hebrew University operating bodies once more refused to link themselves with the Technion.¹⁰ Technion leaders in Haifa desired academic status and a viable budget "with strong ties, external and internal, to the University in Jerusalem."¹¹ University representatives feared competition in the Little Israel of those days, and put forth their own plan, with Weizmann's support, "to open a science institute in Jerusalem."¹² The two institutions settled for an "intellectual bond."

During the 1931 financial crisis, the Zionist Organization considered a merger of the Technion with the Reali School. Dr. Biram, beset with recurring crises, had pushed for closer connections, even complete amalgamation ever since the Reali School moved back into the Technion buildings, after their 1920 transfer to the Zionist Organization. During the war, the Reali school struggled, but it grew and became coeducational.

Biram, conscripted into the German army, was absent until early 1919. When he returned, he implemented a series of failed educational experiments. The attempt to establish a "school community"—with school bodies run by the students, and an executive council of teachers—proposed by Winnekin and other progressive educators—failed when the teaching staff did not agree to this democratization of school life. The Technion's conservative teachers of academic subjects opposed the "laboring secondary school" concept of Kirschensteiner—reduced study hours in favor of crafts, and programs in which students did the school's service work, introduced as values education. The "labor program" did replace some classroom hours and got an additional month—half at the expense of school subjects, and the rest in vacation time. But the school leaned heavily to the academic under Aaron Tcherniavsky (mathematics and physics), Shlomo Dov Goitein (history), Shalom Spiegel (Hebrew language), Jeremiah Grossman (mathematics), Ernst Simon (Bible and history), and Yehezkel Kaufmann (Bible), some of whom became distinguished university professors. Biram also converted the Reali School to a secondary school that depended on Haifa's elementary schools. He mistakenly decided to transfer the four junior classes to Amami A (Public School One) in 1920. Three years later, he reopened the junior classes, and reverted to the old Ezra educational continuum from the preparatory classes through the academic secondary school with humanities and science options; graduates would be candidates for the Technion.¹³

These vicissitudes led Biram to explore all avenues for a union with the Technion. Physical proximity did not make life easy, particularly during Hecker's principalship. The *Eretz Israel* directorate of the Technion, of which Dr. Biram was a member, had to agree on "the relations between the Technion and the Reali School" and the use of their common premises. On June 23, 1926, Dr. Biram declared, "There was once a plan to unite these two institutions. London responded favorably...This is not the right time for such arrangements, but one should start to set these two institutions on an

appropriate course." Biram felt that "The country needs a good technical school," Biram added, "not necessarily a higher technical institute"—this, too, in the Ezra spirit. He tried, but did not succeed in annexing Technion workshops for the use of the Reali students.¹⁴

Biram, supported by some Zionists, tried again to unify the Technion and Reali School in 1930-1931, before Shlomo Kaplansky's arrival. In 1931, the Jewish Agency directorate effected a reorganization that included Biram's appointment as the "executive director of the board of trustees common...to the two institutions, the Technion and the Reali School." In this short-lived office, Biram failed to implement "an integrated [elementary-secondary] system of technical and vocational education in *Eretz Israel*."¹⁵ The failure resulted from the Reali School's academic emphasis, and from opposition to the merger from the Technion's directors, who, during the Technion's first decade, concluded that meeting multiple demands required inclusion of the highest level of research and personnel training.

Hecker set the precedent by combining the academic institution and technical secondary school approaches. The need for higher technical education became increasingly apparent once implemented, and by 1931, proponents of an institute of higher learning held the advantage in academic and Zionist circles. Indeed, Shlomo Kaplansky accepted the principalship on condition that the directors make Technion's higher academic status permanent.

Shlomo Kaplansky, born in 1884, was not an educator but a socialist-Zionist labor leader, a companion of Borochoy and Syrkin in the Zionist Workers' Party (*Poalei Zion*) leadership. He was a formulator of the concept "constructive socialism," which united socialists with others in building the country. He supported cooperative settlements and "synthetic Zionism"—in which political Zionism depended on agriculture and industry. His Zionist activities notably included establishment of the *Eretz Israel* Workers' Fund in 1910. He directed the head office of the Jewish National Fund (the Hague, 1913-1919), the political office of *Poalei Zion* (London, 1919-1921), and the settlement department of the Zionist Organization directorate (Jerusalem, 1924-1927) before coming to the Technion in 1931. His moderate socialism, syncretic Zionism, and public spirit found expression at the Technion where he expanded projects that responded to communal needs—especially the needs of the settlements in the north, and of workers, technicians, and engineers in the *Yishuv*.¹⁶

Kaplansky—principal from 1931 until his death in 1950—completed the Technion's transformation into a higher academic institution. A new academic constitution provided for faculties and departments. In 1935, Kaplansky established a technological department that offered electrical and mechanical engineering—subjects that later developed into separate faculties. The chemistry department was founded in 1946, when he instituted separate first-year courses for each department, a step that led to new

faculties after independence. The multiple functions of the Technion became easier to implement as it became the advanced technological institution of the Zionist revival in *Eretz Israel*. Kaplansky's introduction of an advanced engineering course facilitated elementary and cognate courses.

Kaplansky also left a direct imprint at the secondary and the evening levels. Bosmat (the Hebrew acronym for Technical Vocational School, *Beit Sefer Miktso'i Tichoni*), an affiliated four-year vocational secondary school, opened in 1933, and replaced the original concept of a Reali technical school that prepared students for the Technion. When Hitler came to power in Germany that year, the Technion took in refugee Jewish teachers and students. Kaplansky soon offered a two-year course that permitted secondary school vocational education students from Youth Aliyah, the Zionist project for immigrant youth, to complete their studies (1937). He later expanded access to the course to local students who finished ten years of school. The Trade School merged with Bosmat, also in 1937. Two years later, Kaplansky completed the Technion's secondary educational system by opening a nautical school, which in 1955, became the Naval Cadet School at Acco.¹⁷

Kaplansky, meanwhile, supplemented existing evening technical classes in Haifa with half-year courses for German immigrants and other adults, and added technical training and short winter courses for workers in agricultural settlements. The Technion offered courses for the Working Youth movement of *Histadrut*, the General Federation of Hebrew Workers (1940), and in the English language for British soldiers (1943). The institute also made twelve laboratories available for economic development projects, for the British Army stationed in Palestine—and for the *Hagana*, the underground Jewish military organization.

Kaplansky also fostered establishment of Friends of the Technion societies—a joint endeavor of the Jewish Agency of the Zionist Organization, and the Zionist nautical project—in *Eretz Israel* and abroad. He relied on these Friends for support when, in 1946, he announced plans for enlarging and developing the Technion, both in *Hadar Hacarmel*, and on a new campus in the Haifa Bay area. The War of Independence delayed construction, but Kaplansky nurtured the projects after the war, and General (Res.) Yaakov Dori, Kaplansky's successor, brought them to fruition.

The Hebrew Technion, with its national academic aspirations, had to look far beyond Haifa high school students and Reali School graduates for an adequate pool of engineering, technical, and secondary vocational students. Most Jews, the Technion's natural constituency, resided outside the country. Synthetic Zionism—aimed at attracting and absorbing migrants and refugees who would then contribute to the economic growth of *Eretz Israel*—assumed that attractive educational facilities would complement the homeland's congenial political, economic, and religious atmosphere. Kaplansky's innovations performed at expected—the number of degree stu-

dents increased from the 30 registered at the Engineering Institute when he took office to 700 on the eve of Israeli independence.

The Technion experience, particularly in Kaplansky's time, suggests that technical institutions in developing countries cannot confine themselves to a single mission. Kaplansky implemented Hecker's vision of "the Technion's numerous functions," by making the school a recognized academic institution, while developing basic, intermediate, and advanced technical courses for students from many age groups, ability levels, and geographic origins. At the same time, these institutions had to address pressing societal goals. Zionist Organization institutions worldwide, and particularly in *Eretz Israel*, ultimately perceived the institution's full potential; Ezra, in contrast, had failed because of its remoteness and alienation from the *Eretz Israel* reality.

A successful Technion also required academic independence. Ezra, a philanthropic society, and the Zionist Organization, should have limited themselves to setting general policy and aims. But Nathan and Hecker, representing external, nonprofessional bodies, could not separate societal needs from institutional imperatives and allowed interference in internal affairs. In contrast, Kaplansky, a member of the Zionist establishment, separated institutional autonomy from the goals of Zionism—often invoking technological expertise as a tactic—from the day the Zionist Congress chose him to head the Technion in 1931. Weighing communal and educational factors carefully, he enabled the institution to maintain internal and external equilibria.

Kaplansky's tenure illustrates the centrality of the director, particularly during an institution's formative years. His experience as a Zionist labor leader provided him with an educational-social vision that enabled him to attain academic independence, implement new programs, increase enrollments, and resolve conflicts. But, unlike his predecessors, he combined this vision with a sense of the practical.¹⁸

The Technion's dilemmas recurred at the Hebrew University, in German technical education, and post-World War II technological education in developing countries. The Hebrew University, established simultaneously with the Technion, realized a long-cherished hope for a Jewish institution of higher education. The debates that preceded its establishment resulted in another institution that could balance academic independence and national needs. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Hebrew University between 1925 and 1935, favored close supervision by the Zionist Organization. Chancellor Judah Lieb Magnes, who had academic and administrative duties, opposed close outside scrutiny. Weizmann capitalized upon the 1928 resignation of Albert Einstein from leadership of the academic council—a protest against the failure of his proposal to lower Magnes' position by appointing a separate academic head of the university—by persuading the Fourteenth Zionist Congress in Vienna to supervise

the Hebrew University more closely. The Congress adopted a constitutional provision that permitted itself to appoint half the university's governors. But Zionist Organization influence actually diminished when Weizmann became less involved with the university's daily functioning. The Hebrew University, contending with the same governance dilemma as the Technion, found an informal, balanced solution.¹⁹

German higher education heavily influenced events at the Technion and the Hebrew University since most of the system's founders came from Germany or central Europe. German emphasis on the humanities and "pure" natural sciences meant that parallel institutions had to address industrial and economic needs. These *technische hochschulen*, which grew out of technological secondary level institutions along with the German economy, differed from the Technion's experience in that increased government involvement, notably in their budgets, accompanied their growth. But other problems resembled the Technion's. Professors, desiring full academic recognition for their schools and fearing for their position and prestige, opposed attempts to offer practical and technological subjects. The result was an unclear demarcation between intermediate and higher level technical education.²⁰ The Technion's early dilemmas also characterized the growth of technological education in southeast Asia and Africa between the 1940s and the 1960s. The Bandung Institute of Technology (Indonesia) began as a technical college, founded by the Dutch in 1920. The institute, which addressed itself to the multiple needs of a developing Indonesian economy, articulated with both the academic system and intermediate technical schools after 1950.²¹ Eric Ashby identified similar dilemmas in post-independence Africa. "Africans are now seeking a formula which will allow to universities the essential academic freedoms—and which at the same time will ensure that universities serve the essential needs of the state," he wrote. "In Europe universities have stood for continuity and conservation: in Africa, universities are powerful instruments for change."²²

Other institutions thus shared the Technion's dilemmas—autonomy vis-a-vis the state and response to national needs; institutional articulation and differentiation, and leadership cultivation.²³ The Technion, which educated engineers, while integrating lower levels of training and absorbing students and teachers from the Jewish diaspora, is noteworthy for attaining autonomy, while meeting Zionist needs.

NOTES

1. The Technion has published its official history in Hebrew in pamphlets and booklets. A comprehensive history by Carl Alpert appeared in English in 1982. This article is not a systematic, chronological history such as Alpert's, but instead examines the Technion's concern with academic and national dilemmas other histories did not emphasize. We discuss, for example, the role in the Technion's affairs played by the national Zionist movement, the Hebrew University, and the Reali School, all based on primary sources not used by Alpert and his predecessors. The article relies on additional primary sources, notably from the Lavon Labour Archives in Tel Aviv, and from the Zionist Archives collection in Jerusalem, and on secondary sources that have appeared since Alpert's book was published. All sources are in Hebrew, unless otherwise indicated.
2. The History of the Technion has been written from sources in the following archives: the historical archive of the Technion (THA); the Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem (CZA), the personal collections of Menachem Ussishkin (A24), Gedalya Wilboashevitz (A112), and Shlomo Kaplansky (A137); the collection of the political department of the Jewish Agency (S25; hereafter PJA), and the Labour Archives at the Lavon Institute, Tel Aviv, private collection of Shlomo Kaplansky, to 1931 (IV/104; hereafter LA). To avoid repetition, we first mention the main sources for the three periods, and later clarify specific points only.

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Archive Documents: "Decisions of the Technion Committee Elected by the National Council as Authorized by the Assembly of Delegates" (Hebrew and English), CZA S25/6717; Yehoshua Nessiahu's Farewell Remarks, September 23, 1974" and "A Short Technion History," compiled by Miriam Shomroni, November 23, 1974, from the recollections of Nessiahu, THA/1303.

3. Martin Buber, Berthold Feiwel, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, *Das Projekt einer Jüdischen Hochschule* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1902) (German); Carl Alpert, *Technion—The Story of Israel's Institute of Technology*, 1-8.
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5. Weizmann's ongoing negotiations for the chair of the Technion chemistry department or even head of the whole institution, may have influenced his proposal.
6. *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des XI Zionisten-Kongresses in Wien* (Berlin—Leipzig: 1914) (German); Yaacov Iram, "Vision and Fulfillment: The Evolution of the Hebrew University, 1901-1950," *History of Higher Education Annual*, 3 (1983), 123-143; Bezalel Barzilai, "The Hebrew University of Jerusalem from the Plan to Reality," *Cathedra*, 25 (October, 1982); Jehuda Reinharz, "Laying the Foundation for a Hebrew University in Jerusalem: The Role of Chaim Weizmann (1913-1914)," *Cathedra*, 46 (December, 1987), 123-146, and "Preparations for the Technikum, Haifa," an addendum to the "A Report on Preparations for a University in Jerusalem," for the annual convention of the Zionist organization, 1920.
7. Mordecai Hecker, "The Technikum in Haifa," passim; idem. "The Hebrew Technion in Haifa, Present and Future," (memorandum to the enlarged executive committee of the Zionist directorate, June 27, 1926) LA IV/104, Kaplanaky Collection/43.
8. "The Hebrew Technion in Haifa: Present and Future" (1926).
9. These justifications are derived from: "The Technion, Haifa, Curriculum for 1924-1925; 1925-1926;" "Proposals to the Eretz Israel Executive Committee of the Technion" (May 23, 1926), THA 1328; and "Memorandum and Addenda of the Hebrew Technion Students' Union in Haifa to the Executive Committee, the Directorate, and the Faculty Council—and to the Zionist Executive Committee" (1926), THA 1328; "Memorandum to the Technion Directorate on the Question of the Nature of the Institution" (1927), CZA, A24/182; "The Question of Curriculum at the Hebrew Technion in Haifa" (1927), THA 1328, and "Recollections" from "The Technion's 40th Anniversary."
10. See Carl Alpert, *Technion—The Story of Israel's Institute of Technology*, 68, 81, 102, 118-120; 125-126; 142-144. On Arthur Blok's attempt to unify the Technion and Hebrew University, see Blok to the Zionist Executive Committee, Jerusalem, October 9, 1925, CZA A24/175.
11. "The Curriculum Question at the Hebrew Technion in Haifa" (1927), 3, THA/1328.
12. "Zionist Organization/Central Office, London, Confidential to Sacher, Jerusalem, March 28, 1929, discloses the positions of Weizmann and of the university (CZA, S25/6717).
13. For the Technion viewpoint, see Carl Alpert, *Technion—The Story of Israel's Institute of Technology*, 79-80, 93, and 107; "The Early History of the Technion," 27; Mordecai Hecker, "Report on the Technion Under My Direction," July 27, 1927, 8 (CZA, S25/6717), and Hecker to Uashiahkin, October 26, 1926 (CZA A24/178). For the Reali view of a merger,

see Sarah Halperin, *Dr. Biram and the Reali School*, (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1970), parts B and C.

14. "Meeting of the Eretz Israel Executive Committee of the Technion," June 23, 1926" (CZA, A 24/174); January 15, 1925 (CZA A24/175).
15. Biram to Berkson, November 18, 1930 and September 17, 1931; "Decisions of the Jewish Agency Directorate in Eretz Israel on the Technion Reorganization" (February 15, 1931) (CZA S25/6717), and Mendel Singer, *Shlomo Kaplansky: His Life and Work*, 114-118.
16. On Kaplansky and his work, see Mendel Singer, *Shlomo Kaplansky: His Life and Work*; memorial pamphlet published upon Kaplansky's death in *Hebrew Technion Society Newsletter* (July 11, 1951); Daniel Ben-Nahum, "The Man of Learning and Deeds" *Haderech*, 6 (December, 1970), 19-34; idem., "elements of Zionist and Socialist Realization in the Philosophy of Shlomo Kaplansky," *Me'asef*, 2 (December, 1971), 67-89; Shlomo Kaplansky, "Introductory Remarks [Technion 25th anniversary celebration]," *Hebrew Technion Society Newsletter*, 1925-1950), 10 (April, 1950), 9-15, and Anachel Reis, "Shlomo Kaplansky [Jewish Personalities]" (Tel Aviv: World Jewish Congress, the Israeli Directorate, 1972).
17. Kaplansky appointed a Subcommittee on the Trade School and the Vocational Secondary School to investigate the problematic relationship between the two institutions, in view of the memoranda of Dr. Bardin, principal of the Vocational School, and the parents' committee. (four documents in CZA, A112/18). Kaplansky's sensitivity to the needs of these boys and their parents shows in his comments to the committee and in the "semi-secondary" framework he established within the Technion educational network.
18. The literature on effecting change in colleges and schools is replete with references to the centrality of the president and principal in guiding the educational staff. See, for example, John Goodlad, ed., *The Ecology of School Renewal—86th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).
19. See Bezalel Barzilai, "The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1925-1935," *Cathedra*, 53 (September, 1989), 107-122.
20. See Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Germany 1700-1914* (London, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 23-24, 214-215, 236-237, 241, 291, 305-307, and 337; Konrad H. Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 32, 74-75; 100, and Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 330-332.
21. See Tisna Amidjaja, "The Development Stages of the Bandung Institute of Technology," in Yip Yat Hoong, ed., *Development of Higher Education in Southeast Asia: Problems and Issues* (Singapore: Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development, 1973), 144-158.
22. Eric Ashby, *African Universities and Western Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 97-98.
23. Other studies document similar academic-national dilemmas. *The Transformation of Higher Learning, 1860-1930* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1983) documents the rising level of higher technological education, and the growing influence of the state, because of the connection with the nation's industry and economy, in England,

Germany, Russia, and the United States. George Z.F. Bereday, *Universities for All* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1973), and Brian Holmes and David G. Scanlon, eds., *Higher Education in a Changing World* (London: Evans Brothers, 1971) document the emergence of parallel technological education systems as well as the "unity without uniformity" resolution—responding to national needs while not losing internal autonomy. Barbara Burn, *Higher Education in Nine Countries* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971) addresses the relationship between higher education and civil government; internal governance, economic planning, and financing higher education. Nell P. Eurich *Systems of Higher Education in Twelve Countries—A Comparative View* (New York: Praeger, 1981) mentions all the dilemmas. See also Joseph Ben David, *The Scientist's Role in Society—A Comparative Study* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), and idem. "The Universities and the Growth of Science in Germany and the United States," *Minerva*, 1/2 (Autumn/Winter, 1968-1969), 1-35.

Requiem for a Pioneer of Women's Higher Education: The Ingham University of Le Roy, New York, 1857-1892

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INGHAM UNIVERSITY, A PIONEER INSTITUTION of higher education for women, existed in Le Roy, Genesee County, New York, from 1857 to 1892. The life work of sisters Marietta Ingham and Emily Ingham Staunton, Ingham University grew out of the Le Roy Female Seminary (1837-1852) and the Ingham Collegiate Institute (1852-1857). During its 35 years, the university graduated 346 women and five men (these latter from the art college only), employed at least 157 women and 35 men faculty members, and included at least 95 male councilors or trustees—and the two Ingham sisters—on its governing board. Ingham graduates taught in several universities and primary schools, and enriched countless family homes across the nation and farther. But in 1892, Ingham University graduated its last class and closed its doors. This article chronicles the life and death of this nineteenth century experiment in women's education.

Ingham University owed its establishment and existence to sisters Marietta and Emily Ingham. Marietta, the elder sister, was born on November 25, 1797, in Saybrook, Connecticut, the third child and first daughter of Amasa and Mary Chapman Ingham. Little is known of Marietta's education. She may have studied in the Saybrook schools before her 1820 move up the Connecticut River to Middletown, Connecticut. Though depicted as tiny in stature and never particularly robust, she worked as a milliner in Middletown, and in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, from 1820 to 1835. By 1835, she accrued \$5,000—the initial capital for a girl's seminary—to be used for a missionary project.¹

Emily Eliza, Marietta's younger sister, was born on March 5, 1811, also in Saybrook. The close relationship between the sisters began after Mary, fearing that she was dying, gave twin sisters Emily and Julia Ann to the respective care of older sisters Marietta and Anna. Mary eventually regained her health—and bore three more children—but she did not take back her gifts. Marietta and Emily lived in Middletown for about seven years. Emily may have begun school in Saybrook and continued in Middletown. The sisters then relocated to Pittsfield, to rejoin Anna and Julia Ann. Emily embarked on her "advanced" education at the Pittsfield Female Seminary—one of several institutional ancestors to the university in Le Roy.

1991 61

Ingham University's educational genealogy actually began with Rev. Joseph Emerson's pioneering girl's school, the Seminary for Teachers, begun at Byfield, Massachusetts, in 1818, moved to Saugus in 1821 and to Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1824.² Unlike other educators of his day, Emerson advocated teaching as a commendable vocation for women. "[N]ext to the domestic circle," Emerson stated at Saugus in 1822,

the school room is unquestionably the most important sphere of female activity...it seems desirable that females should have a much greater share in literary instruction than is now assigned them....Surely no one can doubt that every intellectual power and faculty of the female, should be unfolded and improved to the greatest possible degree.³

Emerson focused on the careful study of a few subjects, rather than on superficial exploration of many fields. His school quickly gained wide recognition, and Zilpah Grant, Mary Lyon, and Emily Ingham all incorporated his ideas and philosophy in their schools.

Ipswich Female Seminary was Ingham's next ancestor. Ipswich opened in 1826 after several local leaders raised funds for an academy building. Zilpah Grant, who began her seminary education at Byfield in 1820 and met fellow student Mary Lyon there in 1821, became the school's principal in 1828. Mary Lyon served as assistant principal, and for the next 11 years the school pioneered in training women teachers. Emily Ingham attended Ipswich after studying at Pittsfield; Mary Lyon had not yet left Ipswich to raise funds for the proposed Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

Ipswich was a strongly Christian school, and Emily likely felt right at home. During her childhood, her family had close ties to the Saybrook Congregational Church, where church records list marriages, births, and deaths for many members of the Asa Chapman family. The early nineteenth century was also a time of religious renewal, and the local congregation was rebuilding following a church split, as was the Congregational Church in Middletown. Consequently, both Marietta and Emily were nurtured in a climate of vigorous religious vision—and in the realities of congregational turmoil.

At Ipswich, an Ingham biographer wrote, Emily became "imbued with a Missionary spirit and it was her ardent wish to go on a mission to Greece; but her sister, Marietta, proposed to her that they should both become Missionaries to what was then known as 'the far west.'"⁴ Marietta's health may have led her to prefer American to foreign service. She suggested that they use the accumulated capital to establish a seminary that would educate young women in a religious environment. Marietta would manage the new school, a responsibility that developed logically from her business experience. Emily, drawing on her academy-level education at Pittsfield and

Ipswich, would take the academic lead. Emily agreed, and the sisters set out for the educational and religious wilderness of the Chicago region in 1835.

After a 35-mile stagecoach trip from Pittsfield to Albany, the sisters began a slow crossing of New York by passenger barge on the Erie Canal. They disembarked in the village of Brockport, about 250 miles west of Albany, and rode a southbound stage to Attica—the “Greek” name fascinated them—to spend “a Sabbath of rest.” Attica was located in the prosperous agricultural region between the Finger Lakes and Lake Erie—the western battle area for the War of 1812, and later home to the Mormon Church, Seventh Day Adventists, and many early members of the women’s rights movement. The area developed rapidly after the Erie Canal opened in 1825.⁵ The sisters likely heard about Attica from the Rev. James Boylan Shaw, pastor of Attica’s Presbyterian Church, who met Emily near Albany in 1834. During the stay, Shaw and other citizens persuaded the sisters to open their new school in Attica. Marietta and Emily agreed, most likely because Attica was a scant three decades from its wilderness origins.

The sisters promptly rented rooms and built a brick home for the Attica Female Seminary, which opened in 1835.⁶ Attica was not the first academy in the Genesee country to allow girls to attend—Middlebury (chartered 1819), a predominantly male, but officially coeducational academy, located nine miles east in Wyoming village, claimed that honor—but it was the first seminary entirely reserved for young ladies. An 1835 Attica Female Seminary handbill outlines a course of studies that resembled the Ipswich curriculum.⁷

In 1837, Marietta and Emily moved their school to Le Roy, New York, in response to an appeal from a citizen’s group. Le Roy’s location on the overland route from Syracuse through Geneva to Buffalo, which gave that village better prospects for growth, may have influenced the decision. So did the offer of the newly-vacant Le Roy mansion in which to house the school. The seminary’s new home was “a building 37 by 46 feet, and two stories high, situated on the east bank of the Oatka [Creek].” This facility, which eventually became the core structure of the university, had eight rooms and an upper and lower hall. The property included two acres of land.

The middle-class farm homes and parsonages of the region produced the clientele Emily sought—religious young ladies needing an inexpensive education and desiring to teach or to serve Christendom in other ways. The school admitted 76 women to the non-graded, secondary-level seminary and 41 pupils to the primary (preparatory) department for the first summer term, with 66 and 17 respectively for the winter term.⁸ In 1838, the seminary divided its students into junior and senior classes. In 1839, it responded to popular demand by adding a teachers department, open to students at least 16 years old with junior standing. The next year, the school re-divided the juniors, adding a middle class before the senior year. By 1851, the seminary had 230 pupils in the two academic divisions.⁹

The Le Roy curriculum, like its Attica predecessor, initially resembled the Ipswich course of studies and shared some features with Mount Holyoke. The seminary gained academic strength as it grew in scope. The 1849-1850 curriculum for the junior class included arithmetic, botany, rhetoric, and grammar in the first term; arithmetic, physiology, and the start of general history and algebra in the second; and philosophy of natural history plus the completion of general history and algebra in the third. For the middle class, the first term included astronomy, geometry, botany, and evidences of Christianity; the second had chemistry, and more algebra and geology; the third, moral science, trigonometry, and the conclusion of geology and algebra. Girls in the senior class spent the year with Kames's *Criticism*, Olmstead's *Natural Philosophy*, Upham's *Mental Philosophy*, Tappan's *Logic*, and Butler's *Analogy*.¹⁰

The 1890 *Alumnae Catalogue* identified 11 members of the faculty for 1837 to 1852 as Le Roy seminary graduates, the only instructors for whom we have significant information.¹¹ Five Ingham family members—Emily, two other Inghams (probably nieces), Phineas Staunton, Emily's husband, and Mary Jane, Phineas's sister—complemented the work of this extended family by contributing 28 years of instructional service—about 30 percent of all teaching-years for which data exists.

Table 1: Faculty Data for Le Roy Female Seminary¹²

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Years Taught</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>LFS Graduates</u>
Female	35	90	85	91	11
Male	4	10	8	9	n.a.
Total	39	100	93	100	11

Save for the Ingham "family," most faculty members served from one to three years—a common turnover rate for that era. Most instructors seemed to regard seminary teaching as a way station to marriage or another career, perhaps in the west. But a few teachers persisted in education. Diantha E. Gray, listed in 1838-1839 as co-principal, and her husband, Rev. Harvey A. Sackett, helped organize Elmira College in 1855. Gray later became a member and president of the board of trustees of the New York Medical College for Women. Julia A. Lake, a Le Roy graduate, taught at the seminary from 1840 until her marriage to E.S. Warner in 1843. She then helped to found the Chicago Home for the Friendless and, in 1869, founded the Lake Geneva (Wisconsin) Seminary, where she served as principal for 18 years. Mary J. Mortimer accompanied Catherine Beecher to Milwaukee in 1850, where she taught for seven years in the Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School, and in Milwaukee Female College (later Milwaukee-Downer College). She later became principal of the college, and assisted Miss Beecher in forming the American Women's Educational Association.

Lucy Ann Seymour, born in Ithaca, New York, attended Elbridge Academy and Geneva (New York) Female Seminary, and developed a deep friendship with the Ingham sisters. After five years of teaching at Le Roy, she relocated to Michigan as the wife of the Rev. William L. Parsons, who in 1853 was named secretary of Catherine Beecher's American Women's Education Association. Lucy operated Beecher's reconfigured Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School and later directed a similar institution in Dubuque, Iowa. Lucy and William Parsons returned to Le Roy in 1864 and served Ingham University until their retirements.¹³

On June 3, 1847, Emily Eliza Ingham married Phineas Staunton. Phineas was born September 23, 1817, near the village of Middlebury (now Wyoming) in the Town of Middlebury, New York, the sixth of ten children of Major General Phineas and Mary (Polly) Thomas Staunton, seven of whom were girls. The younger Phineas devoted much learning time to the skills of art, and left home at age 18 to study art in Philadelphia and to paint—portraits, especially—in New Orleans, Savannah, New York City, and Buffalo.¹⁴

Phineas was devoutly religious. His family was originally associated with the Baptist church in the village of Wyoming. His father, a trustee of Middlebury Academy and a Mason, helped the society fund the second story of the academy for use as a Masonic temple. But the anti-Masonic movement that followed the disappearance and presumed murder of William Morgan in 1827 prompted the family to follow their minister into the more hospitable Presbyterian church.

Phineas and Emily, according to family tradition, met when she and Marietta sought refuge at the Staunton home during a sudden, violent summer storm. A less romantic source says their relationship began as Phineas escorted his sisters to and from the Le Roy Female Seminary. An extended honeymoon trip to Europe followed the wedding. Phineas the artist painted copies of major works by "some of the most famous of the old masters" later listed in an inventory of the art college at Ingham University. Emily the teacher examined European education, but seminary catalogues before and after the trip showed little evidence of immediate curricular change.

Phineas devoted his many skills to the Le Roy seminary. He and the Ingham sisters made an interesting threesome: Marietta, the shrewd business manager; Emily, the pious teacher with her dream for educated women; and Phineas, the noted artist, member of a leading local family and avid adventurer. "He entered most heartily, with Mrs. Staunton and her sister," one chronicler wrote, "into the purpose of making their earthly substance, with all their attainments, tributary to the cause of Christian education."¹⁵ Phineas was a key builder of Ingham's arts program, including the use of art to illustrate religious themes. He also taught languages, was a trustee, and helped to transform the seminary into Ingham University

University during the 1850s.¹⁶ His presence helped strengthen the community's perceptions of the all-female institution at a time when it needed support for its moves to collegiate and university status.¹⁷

In the late 1840s, the Ingham sisters and the seminary staff began to develop a vision for a women's college. Emily had maintained contact with Zilpah Grant, Mary Lyon, and Catharine Beecher, and attempted to implement Beecher's five essential points concerning women's higher education: permanence of the institution; education under the college system; permanent endowment; adequate buildings, library, and apparatus; and securing the highest class of co-equal teachers.¹⁸ The sisters also anticipated antipathy from the state legislature toward funding institutions dedicated to the secondary or higher education of women, and observed a national climate that saw men's education as important and women's education as perhaps even frivolous.

Governance, Eliza and Marietta concluded, would have to extend beyond the family triad. The Inghams sought permanence, outside funding, and organizational depth, along with collegiate status, by seeking formal affiliation with the Presbyterian church. The Presbyterians saw affiliation as a way of strengthening the church's programs while helping the school. By 1852, recounted a local historian, the seminary

had become affiliated with the Synod of the Presbyterian church, from which it was hoped that financial and material aid would be forthcoming....The entire school, with an estimated value of \$20,000[,] was placed under the Synod of the Genesee [about 1850].¹⁹

In return, the synod promised to raise a \$50,000 endowment. The mortal, middle-aged Ingham sisters hoped that a shift in seminary ownership to the synod, a perpetual sponsoring agency, would sustain the institution's mission of educating young Christian women for service by allowing it to progress from its precarious, hand-to-mouth financing to greater permanence. The proposed endowment might have provided \$1,500 of annual breathing room in a budget of perhaps ten times that size. But these hopes were never realized—four different fund-raising agents produced aggregate receipts of \$1,400—a fiscal shortfall that contributed to the university's eventual demise.

The Le Roy community also encouraged the Inghams, during this period of boosterism. In the competition between towns and villages, expanding educational opportunities—especially by having a local college—meant greater status and rank than neighboring hamlets, even if, as was often the case, a college came before adequate preparatory schools. "If there was to be a new American religion of education," historian Daniel Boorstin wrote,

the universities were the cathedrals, just as the high schools would later become the parish churches."²⁰

Table 2: The Ingham Institutions: Durations, Names, Locations²¹

Years	Name	Location
1835-1837	Attica Female Seminary	Attica
1837-1852	Le Roy Female Seminary	Le Roy
1852-1857	Ingham Collegiate Institute	Le Roy
1857-1892	Ingham University	Le Roy

The synod's commitment and the community's enthusiasm enabled the seminary to obtain a charter for the proposed Ingham Collegiate Institute from the New York State Legislature on April 6, 1852. The new corporation was subject to visitation by and reporting to the Regents of the University of the State of New York, and governed by 24 trustees. The Presbyterian Synod of the Genesee and other Christian denominations could name these trustees in proportion to their financial support. About half the trustees would be Presbyterian clergymen, and the lay trustees typically belonged to that denomination. The charter empowered the institute to create a normal school, a seminary, and a collegiate department, to appoint professors and teachers, and to award diplomas.²²

The seminary was ready to implement a collegiate curriculum upon the charter's issuance. The 1851-1852 seminary *Catalogue* contained a course list for all three collegiate years, identified as the junior, middle, and senior classes. The junior class would study arithmetic, grammar, and rhetoric during the first term, algebra, history, and physiology the second; and algebra, botany, and natural philosophy [science] the third. The middle class schedule included algebra, geometry, and astronomy in the first term; algebra, geometry, bookkeeping, chemistry, and electricity in the second; and geology, mineralogy, botany, and evidences of Christianity in the third. Seniors were slated for moral science, trigonometry, and government in their first term; technology, mental philosophy, and history of civilization in their second; and elements of criticism, Upham on the Will, and Allison on Taste in their third. A knowledge of Latin, Greek, French, or German was also required.²³ The 1851-1852 *Catalogue* also explained the preparatory department and the normal department programs, and outlined a fourth division: the department of literature, art, and general reading.

Enrollments in all departments—including preparatory—averaged about 215 students. The annual average of 17 graduates was roughly 70 percent of the contemporary baccalaureate production of Columbia College in New York City (a men's college of comparable size), and exceeded the average number of graduates for Elmira Female College, chartered in 1855.²⁴

The initial success of the institute imbued the citizens of Le Roy and other Ingham supporters with even grander visions.²⁵ Their efforts were rewarded, historian Thomas Woody reported, when "the New York Legislature of 1857...changed the name of Ingham Collegiate Institute, established at Leroy, New York, in 1841, to Ingham University. Only women were admitted. There was a four-year course, and, by charter, it was authorized to grant degrees."²⁶ Legally, the university was an "amendment" to the collegiate institute, created by putting a coat of new words on an existing structure. Ingham University had six departments. The elementary department included common school courses. The academic department offered two years of academy-level study to prepare students for college work. The classical department offered a four-year collegiate course, and the literary department—apparently taught by the same faculty members—took three years to complete. The "quite distinct" music department and the art department had their own faculties, and eventually welcomed some men students—probably an attempt to increase revenues without compromising the female education offered in the classical and literary tracks.²⁷

But what was a fitting college curriculum for women? Should Ingham create a special curriculum for females or follow the curriculum used at men's colleges? Several faculty members—Emily Ingham Staunton, who studied under Mary Lyon, Mary Ann Wright Dunlap, who later helped shape Elmira College's curriculum, and Marilla Houghton, an 1846 graduate of Mount Holyoke—knew the concepts Mary Lyon used at Mount Holyoke. Other faculty members experienced the traditional men's college approach—Rev. Charles Mattoon, AB from Middlebury; Phineas Staunton (alma mater unknown but Hamilton awarded him an MA); and Dr. Samuel H. Cox, who helped found New York University and taught at Auburn and Union Seminaries. Ingham officials, wishing to establish that women could handle college as well as men, opted for the men's curriculum. "We must learn as the men learn," Helen Lange observed, "or they will not recognize us."²⁸

Table 3 compares first year expectations at three women's colleges in 1868.²⁹ The Ingham curriculum, though modified from time to time, did not change drastically from 1857 to 1892. Communication and shared objectives help to explain the similarity in subjects and texts. Elmira officials learned from Ingham's program, while Elmira helped Vassar to develop its curriculum. The three colleges had similar senior year curricula; second- and third-year programs differed at Vassar where students could choose from among three courses of studies each semester.

Table 3: First-year Academic Curricula, 1867-1868:
Ingham University, Elmira Female College, Vassar College

Subject	Ingham	Elmira	Vassar
First semester			
Latin	Virgil—Frieze	Sallust and Virgil—Hanson	Livy, Arnold's <i>Prose Composition</i>
Mathematics	Robinson's <i>University Algebra</i>	Robinson's <i>University Algebra</i>	Robinson's <i>University Algebra</i>
Greek			Felton's <i>Historians</i> ; Kuhner's <i>Grammar</i> ; Arnold's <i>Prose Composition</i>
Science	Physiology—Cutter		
The Arts		Drawing or music	
History and Geography	General history—Wilson	Physical geography; review of ancient and modern geography	
English	"Weekly reviews, exercises, compositions"		Exercises in composition
Second semester			
Latin	Virgil completed	Virgil completed	Cicero, <i>de Senectute et Amicitia</i>
Mathematics	Algebra completed	Algebra completed	Loomis's <i>Geometry</i>
Greek			Homer's <i>Iliad</i> , Kuhner's <i>Grammar</i>
History	General history completed		
Science	Physiology completed	Botany and Zoology	
The Arts		Drawing or music	
English	"Weekly reviews, exercises, compositions"		Exercises in grammatical analysis

The university charter gave the Board of Councilors, which replaced the institute's Board of Trustees, power to confer literary honors, degrees, and diplomas. Opinion was split, but the board's majority concluded that the names of the college degrees awarded to men were unsuitable for women. Therefore, in June 1857, the board adopted a distinctive order and title of degrees:

Gradus Artium Primarius (AP), for literary course graduates.
Gradus Artium Altior (AA), for classical course graduates.
Gradus Artium Clarior (AC), graduate degree equal to MA.
Gradus Artium Excelsior (AE), a higher, purely honorary title.

The councilors deemed the AP and the AA equal to the baccalaureate degrees awarded to graduates of men's colleges. The AC became equivalent to a master's degree; the AE, to the doctorate. Board members stated that the decision reflected community sensitivities. "Several of the Councilors would have preferred the titles usually conferred upon graduates of the other sex," faculty member Henry Van Lennep observed in 1876, "but the public mind did not seem fully prepared for so bold a step."³⁰

An average of 245 students attended Ingham Collegiate Institute during its five-year existence. But when the institution became a university, enrollments declined to 145 at the onset of the Civil War and to 120 in 1862 before climbing back to 202 in 1868. Enrollments slid again during the 1870s, surged to over 200 during the 1880s, and then rapidly declined for a final time. Enrollments in the college-level classes declined from 159 in 1868 to less than 80 in the mid-1870s, climbed to 153 in 1879 and 175 in 1884, and dropped to 60 in 1890. The pattern, save at the end, resembled the trend at comparable colleges. During Ingham University's 35-year history, 351 students (including five men) received degrees.³¹

In 1876, professor Henry J. Van Lennep compiled the place of origin for students attending the Ingham schools between 1842 and 1875. Van Lennep counted all students, including day pupils from the village of Le Roy, once for each year of attendance. Since only the advanced programs would likely attract "foreign" students, New York dominated the listing with 5,473 pupil-years. The college level accounts for perhaps 10 percent of the New York pupil-years. Between 1875 and 1892, the percentage of students from outside New York declined steadily as colleges were organized in other areas, women gained admission to state colleges in the midwest, and the prestige of an eastern education began to wane. Weakened ties between western migrants and family members remaining near Le Roy also contributed to the enrollment decline.

Table 4: Home of Record for Pupils Attending Le Roy Female Seminary, Ingham Collegiate Institute, and Ingham University, 1842-1875³²

<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>
New York	5,473	New Jersey	25	Tennessee	6
Michigan	187	Greece	19	Missouri	4
Ohio	123	Dist. of Columbia	15	Mississippi	4
Illinois	109	Iowa	12	Maine	3
Pennsylvania	107	Vermont	11	Virginia	3
Wisconsin	76	Alabama	9	Louisiana	3
Connecticut	53	Kansas	8	France	2
Indiana	43	Georgia	8	Rhode Island	1
Missouri	41	California	8	Maryland	1
Massachusetts	38	New Mexico	7	Texas	1
Canada	36	Minnesota	6	Bermuda	1

Table 5: Hometown Areas for Second-Year Ingham University Students³³
Average percentage during the five-year block

Area	1857-1861	1867-1871	1877-1881	1887-1891
Le Roy	14.4	30.0	16.4	27.8
Western N.Y.	25.8	33.3	48.2	43.5
Other N.Y.	25.0	16.7	9.1	6.1
New England	3.8	6.7	2.7	7.0
Mid-Atlantic	3.8	6.7	2.7	7.0
Upper Midwest	22.0	5.0	12.7	7.8
Other U.S.	3.0	3.3	3.6	0.9
Foreign	2.3	0	3.6	1.8

Ingham faced competition for its natural constituency—young women from western New York—from Elmira College (opened 1855), Vassar (1865), Wells (1868), Wellesley and Smith (1875), Bryn Mawr (1885), and Mount Holyoke (opened as a college, 1888). The New York State Normal Schools at nearby Brockport and Fredonia—both authorized in 1866—and at Buffalo and Geneseo (1868) did not duplicate Ingham's programs, but their tuition-free status likely kept many prospective teachers from considering opportunities at Ingham. Chancellor Totheroh, in 1885, identified the normal schools as one of the greatest challenges that Ingham faced.³⁴ On the other hand, the growing ease of north-south travel and proximity—a 200-mile circle drawn from Le Roy excludes more of New York than it does of Pennsylvania—help to explain the late surge in mid-Atlantic student enrollments.

Ingham University was not only *for* women, it was sustained by women. Men always dominated the controlling boards, save for seats held by Emily and Marietta, but the Ingham faculty was predominantly female. In fact, five male faculty members were chancellors with few, if any, teaching responsibilities. Men might "own" the school, but women carried on the bulk of the work.

Table 6: Ingham University Faculty, 1857-1892³⁵

Total Faculty	192		
Faculty women	157	Percent of total	81.8
Faculty men	35	Percent of total	18.2
Total graduates	351		
Male alumni	5	Percent of total	1.4
Faculty who were graduates	57	Percent of total	29.7
Faculty women who were alumnae	55	Percent of faculty women	35.0
Faculty men who were alumni	2	Percent of faculty men	5.7

Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox was at the helm during Ingham's transition from collegiate institution to university. After one year as Ingham Collegiate Institute's president, Cox became the new university's first chancellor. Dr. Cox was born in New Jersey in 1797 and ordained as a Presbyterian clergyman in 1816. He served a church in Brooklyn for ten years as the Finney revivals swept the city, spent three years on the faculty at Auburn (New York) Theological Seminary, then returned to Brooklyn for 15 years at the First Presbyterian Church. Voice problems led to his retirement near Binghamton, until summoned by the Ingham trustees. The *Dictionary of American Biography* describes Cox as a "Presbyterian clergyman, educator, a man of brilliant but eccentric genius." Working with Emily as principal and Marietta as treasurer, he helped to remold the institute into the rudiments of a university until his health forced him again to retire in 1862.³⁶ But he also added so much of his own peculiar stamp and "intellectual arrogance" that a fissure between university and village apparently developed, though Ingham only felt the adverse effects years later.

Cox was succeeded by part-timers Samuel Burchard and William Totheroh, acting chancellor Lucius Chapin, president Edward Walsworth, and principal James Roy. Burchard and Chapin performed their duties during semi-annual visits from their churches in New York City and East Bloomfield. The post remained vacant for eight years during which Emily Staunton served both as principal and senior administrator.

Table 7: Chancellors of Ingham University³⁷

<u>Years</u>	<u>FT/PT*</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>
1857-1862	FT	Samuel H. Cox, DD	Le Roy
1864-1872	PT	Samuel D. Burchard, DD	New York City
1873-1875	PT	Lucius D. Chapin, AM	E. Bloomfield
1875-1882	**	Emily Staunton, AE	Le Roy
1882-1885	PT	Edward B. Walsworth, DD	Le Roy (FPC)***
1884-1890	PT	William W. Totheroh, DD	Le Roy (FPC)
1891-1892	FT?	James M. Roy, LLD	Le Roy

* "FT"=full-time "PT"=part-time.

** No chancellor; Vice Chancellor Emily Staunton in charge.

*** FPC=Pastor, First Presbyterian Church.

Ingham University educated woman—*within her allotted sphere*—to her highest and best ability and thus enhanced her capabilities to serve, in lady-like Christian manner, her earthly family and her civic family at school and church. This mission was oft-proclaimed in the seminary's *Catalogues*, oft-confirmed by alumnae, and oft-reiterated by university chancellors and professors. Several graduates achieved prominence in

music, physics, art, and physical education, and some alumnae became active feminists. But Ingham's influence was strongest in the relatively safe middle-ground of preparation for school teaching and enlightened motherhood.³⁸ The university, like its founders, was essentially the product of the religious milieu of the era, but not narrowly so. Emily and Marietta grew up in the Congregational Church, and Presbyterians dominated the governing board, but neither the founders nor the institutions were bound into sectarianism. Trustees and chancellors, students and bystanders attested that Ingham was devoted to life, service, and women's education.³⁹ Student testaments—from Anner Peck's 1862-1863 student journal through Sarah Whiting's 1911 reminiscences of Emily and her school—suggested that Ingham succeeded in preparing its young women for life in a larger world, even if it remained essentially the world of academe plus the domestic sphere. The alumnae association, whose motto was "Noblesse Oblige," demonstrated its strong loyalty to the university through a series of innovative, though futile, last ditch fund-raising plans. Student reminiscences reveal deep sadness at Ingham's demise.⁴⁰

Ingham's officials were not unduly presumptuous in claiming university status. The terms "university," "college," "institute," "seminary," and "academy" had vague definitions in 1860. "University" more commonly meant an aggregation of colleges than a center of research, and Ingham had three separate colleges and faculties during the years of its highest national recognition. Other colleges, including Wellesley, Fisk, and Vassar, accepted Ingham graduates as faculty members. Further, Ingham used its power to grant higher degrees for in-course work and *honoris causa* (Major General George McClellan accepted an 1861 LL.D.).⁴¹

Ingham University achieved more than token recognition as the first female university. Thomas Woody, in his text on women's education, ranked Ingham with the major women's colleges day of the day.⁴²

In the *Report [of the Commissioner of Education of the United States]* for 1886-7, the Commissioner called attention to...those colleges which 'as is well known are organized and conducted in strict accordance with the plan of the arts college.'...The latter, forming 'Division A,' included seven institutions—Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Ingham University, Wells College, Wellesley, Smith, and the Society for College Education of Women at Cambridge.

Had Ingham University's survival rested solely on its academic stature, it would today be a well-known, respected institution. But Ingham, despite its high-quality educational offerings, strong faculty, and devoted student body, failed to complete its fourth decade. Money became the prime criterion of survival. Ingham University, always lacking an adequate endowment,

was continually plagued by cash shortages, and funding became precarious in the 1880s when enrollments began to decline.

In 1883, the Synod of Genesee—suffering its own financial problems—severed its ties to Ingham, and returned the title and debts of the school back to Emily. The state concurrently revised Ingham's charter; the new board of trustees consisted mainly of area businessmen. Emily gave the university's property to the new board. Ingham officials hoped that councilor and trustee William Lampson would use his wealth and his status as bank owner to establish an adequate endowment for Ingham and thus ensure its survival. Lampson chaired the 1883 citizens' committee that assisted the transition from synod to community governance, provided a significant sum to assist the transition, and wrote an impassioned appeal for funds.

Episcopalian Lampson might have considered giving Ingham a truly substantial endowment had he not reportedly overheard a chance statement in a grocery store that the school would "never accept the money of a drunkard." Consequently, the transition funding, which had been hinted to be a gift, turned out to include a lien on the property. Lampson's financial claim under this and other mortgages held by his bank closed Ingham's doors in 1892. When the foreclosure was legally affirmed in 1893, the property was sold at auction by Lampson's bank to Lampson's agent. When Lampson died in 1897, his will passed the vast bulk of his immense estate to Yale University, his alma mater. Funds from "the whitened bones of a sister institution" were thus used to fund a lyceum and professorships in his name at this male-only academic domain.⁴³

The dwindling enthusiasm of the Le Roy citizenry may also have affected the institution. Local residents persuaded the Ingham sisters to move their school from Attica in 1837, and many community members retained a positive feeling toward the institution. But Le Roy residents became increasingly reluctant to help provide the necessary funding necessary, especially in the final decade when several merchants (who were also trustees) tried to cut their losses for credit extended via judgments against the college.

Lack of endowment, declining enrollment, lack of adequate leadership, maladroit performance of the councilors, absentee chancellors, increased competition from coeducational colleges, and local trustee squabbles and ill-will all played roles in the closing of the university. The university ran short of operating funds, out of credit, and into bankruptcy.

The passing of Marietta and Emily probably proved decisive. Marietta, the university's business manager, died in 1867—the same year in which Emily lost her husband, Phineas.⁴⁴ The men who attempted to pick up Marietta's fiscal tasks were not as qualified, skillful, nor dedicated to women's higher education. Emily—"Madame Staunton," as she was reverentially known—played an even more dominant and decisive role. Her dedication to her vision of fine education for women, and the strength and constancy of her character shine through in the tributes by her students and

associates. When her failing health prevented her from providing strong guidance and hands-on leadership after the mid-1870s, the institution faltered. Ingham University did not long survive her death in 1889.⁴⁵ Even the arrival of John Roy, the new principal, could not produce a miracle; the university was *in extremis*. The five members of the class of 1892 were graduated just before the New York State Regents revoked the university's charter.⁴⁶

Emily Ingham Staunton and Marietta Ingham's achievements were thus undercut by men who served the institution poorly and eventually contributed to its demise. Ingham University surely deserved a better fate.

NOTES

Most Ingham-specific materials are available in the Ingham Collection of the Le Roy Historical Society, Le Roy House, Le Roy, New York. The collection was recently microfilmed. Additional information and data concerning Ingham University is found in Richard L. Wing, "Ingham University, 1857-1892: An Exploration of the Life and Death of an Early Institution of Higher Education for Women," a doctoral dissertation available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

1. Biographical details for Marietta and Emily come from Ingham family genealogical records (Le Roy Historical Society and author's collection), from *The Vital Records of the Saybrook Colony 1635-1860* (Old Saybrook, Conn.: Saybrook Press, 1985), from manuscripts in the Ingham collection by Helen K. Murphy, Lucy Seymour Parsons, Rev. William Parsons, Marian Russell, Jean D. Strobel, and Sarah Whiting, from the Ingham University Alumnae Association's *1890 Alumnae Catalogue of Ingham University (Memorial Number)* (Le Roy, N.Y.: The Le Roy Gazette, 1890), from Rose C. Engleman's master's paper, "The History of Ingham University" (University of Rochester, 1943), and from miscellaneous items in the Ingham Collection (Le Roy Historical Society).
2. Additional sources for the educational genealogy include *Catalogue of Ipswich Female Seminary, 1834* (n.p., n.d.); Arthur C. Cole, *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940), 6, 8; Joseph Emerson, *Female Education—A Discourse Delivered at the Dedication of Seminary Hall in Saugus, January 15, 1822* (Boston, Mass.: Samuel T. Armstrong and Crocker & Brewster, 1822), 9, 15; Willystine Goodsell, *Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1931), 45-46, 229-238; Linda T. Guilford, *The Uses of a Life: Memorials to Mrs. Z. P. Grant Bannister* (New York: American Tract Society, 1885), 13-14; 58-61; Elizabeth A. Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1979), passim., and Keith Melder, "Ipswich Female Seminary: An Educational Experience," in *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 120 (4) (October, 1984), 223-228.
3. Joseph Emerson, *Female Education*, 9, 15.
4. The missionary calling to Attica is reported in the Lucy Seymour Parsons manuscript, Ingham Collection; *1890 Alumni Catalogue*, 63, and Marian A. Russell, "Ingham University," *The Annual Report of the Le Roy Historical Society* (Le Roy, N.Y.: Le Roy Historical Society, 1964-65), 3.

5. See Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1950).
6. *1890 Alumnae Catalogue*, 63, and Helen K. Murphy, "The Development of Attica, N.Y." (typescript, Attica, N.Y.: 1977), 38.
7. Handbill, "Attica Female Seminary," (1835), Ingham Collection. The handbill lists Rev. Shaw and the principal of the Pittsfield Female Seminary as personal references for the Inghams.
8. The description of the Le Roy property is from Henry J. Van Lennep, *Ingham University: Historical Sketch and Description* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Haas, Nauert, and Co., 1876), 5, Marian Russell manuscript, Ingham Collection, 5, and Jean D. Strobel manuscript, Ingham Collection, 3.
9. Data from the Le Roy Female Seminary's *Annual Catalogues* for 1838 through 1850, and from the *1890 Alumnae Catalogue*.
10. *Thirteenth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Pupils of the Le Roy Female Seminary, 1849-50* (Troy, N.Y.: Kneeland's Steam Press, 1850), 19.
11. Of the remaining 22 female faculty members, one attended Mount Holyoke, and another is cited as a graduate of Mrs. Secord's Seminary in Geneva, New York. Of the four men, one was graduated from Hamilton College.
12. Data primarily from Le Roy Female Seminary *Annual Catalogues* for 1838 through 1850, and from the *1890 Alumnae Catalogue*.
13. Biographical notes on the Le Roy Female Seminary faculty were drawn from the seminary's *Annual Catalogues* for 1838 through 1850, the *Annual Reports of the Regents of the State of New York* (Albany, N.Y.: various publishers, various years); "Minutes of the Councilors of Ingham University, 1857-1883" (unpublished typescript), 49; Grace N. Kieckhefer, *The History of Milwaukee-Downer College* (Milwaukee, Wisc.: Milwaukee-Downer College, n.d.), passim; Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966 [1929]) 1:325, and *1890 Alumnae Catalogue*, 12.
14. Genealogical and biographical information from Staunton family records (Le Roy Historical Society and the author's collection), from Parsons's funeral oration in *Reminiscences of the Life and Character of Col. Phineas Staunton, A.M.* (Rochester, N.Y.: E. Darrow and Kempshall, 1867), from a letter from Phineas to Persis, January 11, 1842, and from undated news clippings in the Ingham Scrapbook (Le Roy Historical Society). Wedding reported in *Le Roy Gazette*, June 9, 1847.
15. From Parsons's oration in *Reminiscences*, 16.
16. Le Roy Female Seminary *Annual Catalogues* for 1848-1850; Ingham University *Synopses* for 1857-1867; see also Richard L. Wing, "Phineas Staunton: Ingham University's Semi-Renaissance Man" (unpublished essay, 1988).
17. He served with the 100th New York volunteer infantry regiment in the Civil War, as executive officer and then as acting commander. He resigned and returned to Ingham after a new, politically-appointed colonel replaced him. In 1867, he was chosen staff artist for a joint Williams College-Smithsonian Institution exploration across South America from Ecuador to the mouth of the Amazon. He sickened in Quito and died on September 5, 1867, probably from yellow fever. Details of military service from George R. Stowitz, *History of*

- the 100th Regiment of New York State Volunteers (Buffalo, N.Y.: Matthews and Warren, 1870), 33-36, 367-368, and from materials in Ingham Collection; information on South American excursion and death from Smithsonian Institution *Annual Report* (1868); James Ortin, untitled manuscript report of 1867 expedition to South America (Smithsonian); *Le Roy Gazette*, October 16, 1867; Parsons's oration.
18. Henry J. Van Lennep, *Ingham University*, 14; 1890 *Alumnae Catalogue*, 63; Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, II 143-144. In 1856, Zilpah Grant visited with Marietta Ingham and the Stauntons at Ingham as she rested from a tiring trip west, and the group "took tea" one afternoon there with Emma Willard. The visit is reported in a letter to Miss Guilford and friends, June 27, 1856 (Mount Holyoke Archives).
 19. Marian A. Russell, "Ingham University," 6. No minutes were located for this period and dates are therefore approximate.
 20. Table summarizes data from Ingham publications.
 21. Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Random House, 1973), 478.
 22. Chapter 151, *Laws of 1852, Laws of the State of New York* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Jewett, Thomas, and Company, 1852); Henry J. Van Lennep, *Ingham University*, 14.
 23. *Fifteenth Annual Catalogue of the Le Roy Female Seminary and Circular of the Ingham Collegiate Institute* (Rochester, N.Y.: Lee, Mann, & Co., 1852). At Elmira, as a general comparison to Ingham, students studied Nevin's *Biblical Antiquities* as freshmen, then Gregory's *Evidences of Christianity* as seniors, augmented by regular courses in religion. Work in mathematics included algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and astronomy. Language study encompassed Latin through Sallust, Tacitus, and Horace, then Greek through the New Testament and Xenophon's *Anabasis*, at least for most students, followed by some work in French and German. In the sciences, Elmira students studied physical geometry and botany the first year, physical geography and natural philosophy the second year, and chemistry, geology, and mineralogy the third year. The curriculum also included courses in history, political science, English, composition, and literature, varying from year to year in scope and duration. See Gilbert Meltzer, *The Beginnings of Elmira College* (Elmira, N.Y.: The Commercial Press, 1941), 15.
 24. Data drawn from *Catalogues of Le Roy Female Seminary and Ingham Collegiate Institute*, and *Synopsis of Ingham University*, covering the years 1852-1857; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 496; *Annual Catalogue and Circular of The Elmira Female College* (1856-1889).
 25. The Elmira curriculum strongly resembled the Ingham program. A copy of an Ingham Collegiate Institute *Catalogue* was among the artifacts placed in the cornerstone of Elmira's first building in 1855.
 26. Chapter 246, *Laws of 1857, Laws of the State of New York* (Albany, N.Y.: Gould, Banks, and Co., 1857); Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, II: 146.
 27. *Laws of 1857*; Henry J. Van Lennep, *Ingham University*, 16.
 28. Data drawn from Ingham Collegiate Institute, *Catalogues for 1852-1853 to 1855-1856*, Ingham University, *Synopsis for 1856-1857*, and materials in Ingham Collection; Helen Lange, *Higher Education for Women in Europe* (Berlin, 1890; English edition, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1901), 14-16, 102.

29. Ingham University, *Catalogue for 1867-68*, 14; Gilbert Meltzer, *The Beginnings of Elmira College*, 102; Sidney Sherwood, *The University of the State of New York* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 452.
30. Data drawn from "Minutes of the Councilors of Ingham University, 1857-1883," (unpublished typescript, Ingham Collection).
31. Data from Ingham *Synopsis* and *Catalogues* for 1856-1857 to 1889-1890, 1890 *Alumnae Catalogue*, and news clippings in Ingham Collection.
32. Henry J. Van Lennep, *Ingham University*, 26.
33. Data extracted from *Synopses*, 1856-1857 through 1860-1861, and *Catalogues* for 1866-1867 through 1870-1871, 1876-1877 through 1880-1881, and 1886-1887 through 1889-1890 (no catalogue found for 1890-1891). In the last group, second-year data were not available in art, so third-year data were uniformly substituted.
34. Totheroh to Mrs. J.R. Olmstead, published in the *Le Roy Gazette*, December 30, 1885.
35. Data summarized from the annual Ingham *Synopses* and *Catalogues* for the years 1856-1857 through 1891-1892, supplemented for years with missing catalogues by data from other sources.
36. L. Mason Clarke, *A Sketch of the History of the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York, For the Centennial Celebration, 1822-1922* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn Eagle Press, n.d.); *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21.
37. Data summarized from "Minutes of the Councilors of Ingham University, 1857-1883," and from Ingham *Synopses* and *Catalogues*, supplemented for years with missing catalogues by data from newspaper and other sources.
38. Dr. Cox's statement appears in the *Synopsis* for 1856-1857, 18-19; Henry J. Van Lennep, *Ingham University*, 29; and Totheroh's statement was reported in the *Le Roy Gazette* (June 18, 1890). Alumnae data from 1890 *Alumnae Catalogue* and other Ingham sources.
39. Beyond some statements in early *Catalogues* that most likely came from Emily's hand, few other writings by her, and none by sister Marietta, exist. Other faculty members and trustees penned the policy statements in the annual *Catalogues*. Alumnae writings such as those of Sarah Whiting (see note 41) and Agnes McGiffert, "The Stones in Ingham's Buildings," and the views of onlookers, such as faculty dependent E.J. Van Lennep and alumnae's son Edward H. Bangs, capture the flavor and focus of the institution.
40. Anner Peck, who graduated from Ingham in 1866, kept a journal during her first 14 months; the original manuscript and a typescript copy are at the Le Roy House. Sarah Whiting, mentioned above, was active in alumnae affairs until her death in 1927, and she presented several essays covering her memories of Ingham. The alumnae motto is mentioned in several alumnae publications. The association later held regular commemorative convocations.
41. Sarah F. Whiting, from Ingham's class of 1864, was asked by Henry Durant to teach at Wellesley, where she served for 37 years as a professor of physics. Similarly reported is the service of Emma Louise Parsons in English at Fisk and of Harriet Ballantine in physical education at Vassar. General McClellan received word of his Ingham degree just before the Battle of Rich Mountain in July 1861, and sent a letter of appreciation which was published in the *Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser* (July 18, 1861).
42. Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, II: 185.

43. Details drawn from news items in the *Le Roy Gazette*, 1883-1898; Lampson Papers, Yale University, and Sarah Whiting, "The Elements of Permanent Worth to Leroy and the Country at Large in the works of Marietta Ingham and Emily Ingham Staunton." The report of the overheard conversation is from an aged Le Roy resident who heard the story in the 1930s from a Lampson acquaintance; the "whitened bones" observation is from E.J. Van Lennep to Judge William Coon, March 7, 1933.
44. Marietta died on June 5, 1867, in Le Roy and was buried on the institution's grounds; later, her remains were reinterred in Le Roy's Machpelah Cemetery.
45. Though, like her sister, tiny and disposed toward frailness, she survived almost until her 79th birthday, dying on November 1, 1889, in Oil City, Pennsylvania. She was also laid to rest on the Ingham grounds and later reinterred in Machpelah Cemetery.
46. Details of the travail of the 1880s are from "Minutes of the Councilors of Ingham University, 1857-1883," and local news accounts. The 1883 charter is chapter 76, *Laws of the State of New York* (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1883).



School of Education, Northwestern University, classroom scene from 1950.
Courtesy: University Library Archives, Northwestern University.

Places Where Status Is Sought

NANCY HOFFMAN

Temple University

Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture*. (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

John Goodlad, Roger Soder, and Kenneth Sirotnik, eds., *Places Where Teachers are Taught*. (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1990).

Geraldine Jonçich Clifford and James Guthrie, *Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education*. (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

WHEN ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL RETIRED from the Harvard presidency in 1933, he advised the Board of Overseers that the School of Education—then 13 years old—was a “kitten that ought to be drowned.” While Lowell’s language is more vivid than most critics of schools of education, his sentiments frequently represent a recurring theme among university faculty and administrators, politicians, policy-makers, and lay persons interested in public education. When American public schools are perceived to be failing as they are now, and were, for example, in the late 1950s, we lay the failure at the door of schools of education. Sometimes we say that teachers know their subjects, but not how to teach them; sometimes, that they only know how to teach, but not what. Sometimes we say that the social and economic problems kids bring to school are more than schools should handle, but we look at schools of education anyway to train school people to be surrogate parents, priests, therapists, social workers, physicians, and community organizers. If we ask a great deal of schools of education, they barely murmur a response. Lacking clearly defined missions, they neither provide an analysis of the vast inequalities in society that make the job of schools so difficult nor do they claim firmly that they are committed to the social and intellectual growth of children as their sphere of practice and research.

The thoughtful books under review barely mention children, learning, poverty, inequalities, national education policies, or politics. Instead, these books address the major historical preoccupations of schools of education—especially the unending quest for status and respect in the academic world. All else follows: emulation of arts and sciences faculty members; an unhealthy—and sometimes unfulfilled—preoccupation with research; confu-

1991 81

sion about mission, purpose, and programs; and education of researchers, administrators, and policy-makers at the expense of classroom teachers. A concerned citizen who attended a faculty meeting in a leading school of education would hear little of immediate use to classroom teachers. Discussions, instead, would involve obtaining massive research contracts, recruiting stars from competing schools, and placing policy-makers and recent Ph.D.'s in high places.

These books chronicle a major "disconnect" or mismatch between the nation's need for thousands of capable, effective, confident teachers and the historic commitments and interests of schools of education. Beset from their inception in the 1830s with problems of status and prestige, very few schools of education have ever freed themselves from the pursuit of respectability in academia long enough to construct an appropriate, effective agenda for educating teachers and other school professionals. Schools of education, like colonized countries, have great difficulty in developing and promoting their own identities and independence.

Schools of education, unlike law and medical schools to which they are often invidiously compared, have always confronted three nearly insuperable disadvantages. First, these schools, though usually led by men, are tainted by involvement in a woman's profession whose clientele is the young. Second, grant and contract funding in education is exquisitely susceptible to trends, political sea changes, and the need for quick fixes. Low alumni incomes translate at best into small donations. Third, unprotected by the perception of special expertise that frightens off interrogators, schools of education are everybody's business, particularly the business of school professionals, politicians, and academics with conflicting agendas. Bluntly, schools of education are female, poor, and bossed around—and once again are under particular scrutiny.¹ Let me explain why.

After a period of ferment and innovation in the sixties and early seventies resulting from perceived Soviet competition, and the massive expansion of higher education enrollments—a 140 percent increase in a decade—schools of education endured a period of retrenchment and decline. A peak in the college going population, a dip in the school age population, and a mass exit of strong women students with myriad career choices left schools of education floundering. Many schools kept what faculty they could by developing programs that were supposedly education-related, but not directly involved in schools.

Then came Reagan administration policies that enabled the rich to become richer and that dismantled social programs intended to improve the quality of life for the poor. The poor grew poorer and more alienated just as the business community realized that, given the demography of the United States, their participation was increasingly necessary in the labor force. Reaganomics thus exacerbated poverty, while highlighting the poor educational outcomes of those who were forced into it. Terrel Bell, secretary of ed-

ucation in the first Reagan administration, rang the alarm with *A Nation At Risk* (1983). Three years later, the Carnegie Forum for Education and the Economy sponsored *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the Twenty-first Century* while a group of ed school deans lead by Michigan State's Judith Lanier issued *Tomorrow's Teachers: A Report of the Holmes Group*. Other national reports and recommendations followed, including John Goodlad's *Teacher's for Our Nation's Schools*, *The Moral Dimensions of Teaching*, and *Places Where Teachers are Taught*, the historical essays reviewed here. The Holmes report and the Goodlad industry spawned teacher education reform networks. George Bush, the "education president," weighed in with America 2000, and the New American Schools program. The nation is thus once again in the midst of a major school reform movement that interrupts school life as we know it as profoundly as did the alternative school movement of the sixties and desegregation in the seventies.

But the reform movement is not unified; its most progressive segment views teaching as a "shadowed profession," and calls for "teacher professionalism" that aims to free teachers to become educational leaders in their own schools. These progressives may not know that the shadows were there from the start.² The public normal school enjoyed a few years in the limelight in its first incarnation as Horace Mann's brainchild. But this innovation revealed the problems to come. The first class at Cyrus Pierce's school in Lexington, Massachusetts was comprised of women, not men; farmer's daughters, not the children of professionals. These students had no other educational choices since most high schools and academies were closed to women, too expensive, or required greater academic preparation. The first principal worried that faculty members would try to teach Latin and Greek when the students needed not even a course on teaching elementary subjects, but a review of these subjects themselves. Political conflict preceded and followed the founding of the school.

Jurgen Herbst's *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* goes beyond this well-known story. "The refusal to educate, encourage, and value public school teachers as professionals and to grant them the independence of professional status in their classrooms," Herbst argues, "is the chief and most persistent cause underlying the recurrent complaints about, and malaise of, American public education." This malaise, he argues, was present almost from the start of formal teacher training; schoolmen abandoned the education of the female classroom teacher not long after the normal schools were set up to train them. Herbst's story is not well known because the few historians of teacher education focus on the "flagship" institutions, and ignore the rest of the flotilla. Herbst traces the evolution of teacher education from the perspective of the "lowliest" student—the young woman aspiring to teach in a rural school—from the one-year normal course for elementary teachers, to normal school, to teachers colleges that offered the B.A., to branch campuses

or state colleges, to the multi-purpose state universities that evolved by the 1920s. Herbst also reviews the relation of several elite schools of education to the education of classroom teachers. *And Sadly Teach* thus chronicles a little-known history of educational institutions, and contributes to women's educational history.

Herbst sees gender, political interference, a quest for upward mobility, and the male educator's obsession with professionalism as key contributors to the failure to educate a professional corps of teachers.³ Gender is also a central analytic category for Geraldine Clifford and James Guthrie in *Ed School*. Clifford pioneered the study of women teachers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Though Herbst cites neither her work nor that of other historians of women's education in the nineteenth century, the evidence he marshals about gender discrimination parallels their work.⁴ Lacking, however, a contextual understanding of the construction and transformation of gender roles in the nineteenth century, the book reads in part like a male plot to dispossess women of their rights to professionalism rather than as a piece in a complex renegotiation of gender roles resulting from industrialization, the "cult of domesticity," the development of separate spheres, and, most important, the rise of a women's rights movement.

Let me give one example of how the absence of a broader context in women's history prevents Herbst from drawing an almost self-evident conclusion about midwestern state colleges. Midwestern normal schools evolved at the end of the nineteenth century as a form of public high school education serving rural constituencies. Designed to train teachers, these "people's" schools rapidly responded to community requests for general education. As public high schools spread, normal schools upgraded admissions policies, turned to the training of high school rather than elementary teachers, and added years to their curricula. Wisconsin students from Whitewater and Platteville, the first state colleges, transferred as juniors to the university. Four-year teacher's colleges began to replace the two- and three-year normal schools by the 1920s—the term "normal school" was obsolete by 1940. University schools of education, also founded at the turn of the century, eclipsed the teacher's colleges, and sent them on a quest for prestige reflected in contemporary tensions and debates about teacher training, school practice, and research.

Herbst tells this story in terms of gender. Normal school principals de-emphasized the training of women elementary teachers and tended to "march in a collegiate direction" attractive to men.⁵ David Felmley, the president of Illinois State Normal School, struggled to attract men to a profession he believed repelled them because it was increasingly feminized. A champion of professional education of elementary and high school teachers in the normal school, not in the university, Felmley himself, Herbst points out, was reacting to class discrimination; he wanted to compete with the higher status state universities. The "sad" story for Felmley was that once

the University of Illinois founded its school of education where "the new empirical science of education took command," his school, like other normal schools, could not compete for men who wanted to train as high school teachers and administrators, and was left to educate women.⁶

This story is not incorrect; but readers would better understand the schoolmen's vehement insistence on the deleterious effects of feminization if Herbst emphasized the threat that women posed to men's position in the labor force, especially as prestigious jobs in high school teaching and administration proliferated. The turn of the century was a turning point in women's labor force participation. Women had become, one historian noted, "permanent public participants in economic life, and...their civic and all other rights were thenceforward inescapable."⁷ For each woman "abandoned" by school men in single purpose normal schools, many more attended state colleges, universities, and liberal arts colleges. In 1910, 39.6 percent of college students were women; the percentage increased to 47.3 in 1920.⁸ Women who might have been ghettoized in a normal school could become social workers, lawyers, journalists, architects, and writers. Protests against "effeminization" of universities and professions were not restricted to teaching. Thus, while Herbst portrays the period as a dim one for the education of women teachers, it is in fact *the* period of victory for women's entrance into higher education. Herbst would not have missed this point had he set his eye more broadly on the history of women's education, not solely on the history of women as educators.

Attending largely to twentieth century history, *Places Where Teachers are Taught* picks up Herbst's story. More a series of background papers than a finished historical study, Goodlad's book provides the historical context for *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools*. Goodlad convened a group of historians to write case studies of 29 representative, if not well-known, institutions: nine private, major, comprehensive universities, including Mercer University, Georgia, and Drake University, Iowa; nine public, regional, comprehensive universities with normal school backgrounds, including Central State University, Oklahoma, and San Francisco State University; seven doctoral-granting research universities, including Temple University, Pennsylvania, and the University of California, Berkeley; and, four four-year liberal arts colleges, including Coe College (Iowa) and Mills College (California).

After completing campus visits, archival work, and interviews, the group identified common themes: stability and instability, the search for institutional identity, teaching and research, fragmentation, discontinuities, the knowledge-practice tension, and commitment to urban education. Goodlad's essay, "Connecting the Past to the Present," introduces the themes, and Robert Levin's overview, "Recurring Themes and Variations," links them to the following chapters. These pieces create a sometimes cumbersome framework for the case studies that follow; the

problem is not the themes identified, but rather the attempt to write history backward to justify Goodlad's powerful critique of contemporary schools of education. Levin's frequent references to Goodlad's themes, work, data, and findings leads readers to ask what the essay adds. Readers may, by the time they arrive at the case studies, feel they are in the grips of an orthodoxy rather than a genuine questioning of the material. In addition, several case studies heavily paraphrase secondary sources. Herbst's history and interpretation, for example, dominate the chapter on the nineteenth century normal school. Some authors, overburdened by the need to cover nine complex institutions in a single essay, overwhelm us with facts about institutions for which we have little context. Nonetheless, this volume makes available materials from "average" institutions, whose histories usually remain within their campus communities. And essays, such as Linda Eisenmann's, that do not adhere to Goodlad's themes produce fresh perspectives.

Eisenmann looks at Pennsylvania government bureaucracy and at competition for markets for pre- and inservice teacher education. The teacher certification function, she reminds us, permits states to regulate and shape the curricula of both public and private institutions—as they cannot with liberal arts education. Eisenmann's analysis of institutional competition for teacher education candidates reminds us that the field can be a big business. Usually certified and employed in the state in which they are educated, teachers are a desirable constituency for whom institutions will enter into serious political maneuvering. Mission, purpose, and standards for teacher education programs are always an institutional responsibility, but state politics and economics decisively affect the quality and purposefulness of teacher education programs.

Eisenmann describes, for example, the impact of Thomas Finegan, a progressive state superintendent, on Pennsylvania between 1919 and 1923. Under Finegan's leadership, the Pennsylvania legislature enacted a law requiring two years of study beyond high school for teacher certification and a guaranteed salary scale for those meeting the requirement. Public and private teacher preparation programs improved rapidly and dramatically. When Finegan was voted out, however, Penn State, the institution with greatest "political savoir faire," and politically powerful, well-endowed private institutions dominated the Pennsylvania teacher education landscape. Absent a champion, the normal schools were left to compete with each other for the remaining spoils, and they did not fare well. Indeed, calls for their closure abounded as Penn State, and then Temple extended their inservice training networks far and wide between 1930 and 1960. The mediocre quality and confusion of purpose associated with normal schools, Eisenmann demonstrates, cannot be laid exclusively at the doorsteps of these institutions. By forcing these schools to compete with flagship institu-

tions, the state exacerbated their tendency to imitate the academic culture of research universities.

"Abiding by the 'Rule of the Birds'" by Charles Burgess, gives greatest cause for optimism. Burgess focuses on teacher education in small liberal arts colleges, a site usually overlooked in discussions of teacher training. Despite their very different histories—Mills College began as a young ladies' seminary and Berry College in northwest Georgia began as a boarding school for poor, rural white boys—teacher education has flourished. At Mills, where women had always come to be teachers, and where teaching itself was an on-campus mission, the Department of Child Development and the model Children's School have had the continued respect of the faculty. Berry linked work, worship, and learning, and told students from the start that taking their knowledge out into mountain schools had a "multiplier effect."

Teacher preparation has fared well, notes Burgess, even at small liberal arts colleges where teaching was not the original mission. These colleges, he observes, are above all "teaching places." Scale enhances collegiality and excellence can be acknowledged without regard to departmental affiliation. Burgess detects more willingness in these small institutions to teach methods courses across departments, and to see teacher preparation as an institution-wide service to the communities in which graduates will work. This view would explain the origins of Teach for America, which attracts liberal arts graduates with a sense of social mission. Rather than being marginalized outside of the academic mainstream because they are not choosing law, medicine, or business, these students receive praise from their professors and institutions for their commitment to service and their altruism. But pressure toward research and publication, Burgess adds, has invaded these "teaching places," and has begun to erode the healthy continuity between secondary and postsecondary teaching.

Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education is the most challenging and provocative book of the three. The subject of numerous reviews and a symposium in the *History of Education Quarterly*, the book has been curiously "misread." Most critics barely discuss the authors' interpretation of the history of elite schools of education that makes up the body of the book. Rather, they oppose the recommendations that ed schools do away with the undergraduate education major, and decry the absence of prescriptions for reorienting teacher education.⁹ The power of the book, however, is not in the conclusion but in the argument that "the more the elite ed schools become ensnared in the academic and political cultures of their institutions, the more distant they have become from the public schools they are duty bound to serve."¹⁰ Clifford and Guthrie blame deans who "today are attempting to exert the dominant influence over the restructuring of teaching in ways that continue to celebrate researchers over teachers, educational sciences over eclectic craft knowledge." Reviewers may be part of a problem they choose

not to address, or may be embarrassed by the story, but their silence confirms the problem. The search for prestige and its consequences are not a subject for debate and discussion, no matter how convincingly documented.

Little in my experience with an elite and an average school of education disputes the Clifford-Guthrie history, though the very recent past gives some cause for hope. Furthermore, the work of Herbst and Goodlad, and that of Arthur Powell in *The Uncertain Profession*, corroborates the destructive search for academic prestige, the emulation of the research model, and the disparagement of the practical and applied model of professional education.¹¹ Indeed, the powerful internal battles within ed schools and between ed schools and other faculties in their universities highlight the values of the liberal arts professorate as reflected in, imposed upon, and caricatured by schools of education.

Given the preoccupation with prestige, Clifford and Guthrie argue, we can learn about all schools of education from studying "the best." Since the graduates and faculty of these schools circulate from one to the other, they spread and enforced the elite school culture. The book draws its examples from a 1934 ranking that included Teachers College (Columbia University), Harvard, Ohio State, Stanford, the University of California-Berkeley, Chicago, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Yale. Illinois, Wisconsin, and UCLA replace Yale and Iowa for the recent history. These ed schools—unlike Herbst's normal schools, state colleges, and ladies' seminaries that were founded as teacher-training institutions—were grafted upon established institutions with strong academic cultures.

From the start, elite schools of education emphasized graduate study and conceded the mass production of teachers to normal schools and teachers colleges. School bureaucratization led these schools to fill the need for educational managers and to produce educational research. But, Clifford and Guthrie succinctly note, "just as the education professional, especially teachers, often found too little in common with the professors in leading schools of education, the latter found their campus colleagues not very accepting of them."¹² To increase their respect on campus, schools of education thus sought to hire liberal arts faculty. Many currently tenured senior faculty, for example, joined ed school faculties in the late sixties and early seventies not as a first choice, but as a consequence of the tightening job market. These job hungry economists, sociologists, and psychologists were attracted by federal and other funding for education research, but had no special interest in, or commitment to, education. Their presence broadened the intellectual community and added some trappings of academic respect, but they also delayed and confused discussion about mission and purpose.

"Academic Politics and Institutional Cultures" shows how the search for prestige and respectability and the availability of liberal arts Ph.D's played out at Stanford, Teacher's College, and University of Chicago between 1955 and 1985. We hear the living voices of deans, faculty members, select re-

view committees, and college presidents as they close, revive, and transform schools and programs, often making them irrelevant to school persons seeking practical education. To emphasize research, Stanford arranged joint appointments in behavioral and social sciences for its faculty. These discipline-based faculty members "looked good from afar," Clifford and Guthrie report, though students complained about the absence of concern for practice. Despite suspicion on campus, Stanford achieved the desired result—a rise to the top in the ed school ratings where it remains today. Happily, this small but powerful gem has recently achieved academic respect not only for its high quality research, but also for the training received by a select group of future school practitioners.

Teacher's College, Clifford and Guthrie's nominee for the "closest thing to a true national professional school," played the prestige game differently. The old interdisciplinary Foundations of Education department, for example, became the Department of Philosophy and Social Science, and faculty members held titles such as professor of sociology and education. Lawrence Cremin, the first chair of the new department and later T.C. president, supported this emphasis on traditional disciplines with its accompanying broadening of scope; he himself had won the Bancroft and Pulitzer Prizes in American History, and thought quite reasonably that professors of education should concern themselves "with influences on children of all kinds, not just those that happen to occur in schools."¹³ Because of its size, its earlier striving for approval from Columbia's graduate schools, and its refusal to circumscribe the constituencies it serves, T.C. is today spread thin. Lacking a clear mission, or a strong base of support at Columbia, the school depends on the tuition of the kind of part-time students who usually attend schools of education—not the superstars who will leave teaching—at a cost to its reputation.

Given an institutional culture characterized by the "single minded devotion to the unfettered pursuit of new knowledge," education at the University of Chicago was always an unimportant departmental responsibility.¹⁴ One department in 1959 characterized teacher training as an "accident" caused by "failure to complete the Ph.D., or failure to secure a college or university position."¹⁵ A story so complicated that it defies summary, Chicago's graduate school of education closed in 1931, and reopened in 1958 as an arm of the ongoing Department of Education located in the Division of Social Sciences. The new graduate school was not intended to equal other Chicago graduate schools, but rather to serve as an administrative unit to train high school teachers at the graduate level. Less than two decades later, it merged with the department, a clear statement of "downscaling." Chicago, most consistently among the institutions described, had a stance toward the practice-research debate: research mattered above all. The Chicago style, Clifford and Guthrie comment, was not to imitate ambitious schools of education—"Too many dangers followed." Hence, while its small number

of strong scholars gives the Chicago department a strong academic reputation, no one looks there for a model of educating school practitioners.

No reader comes away from these books without asking if schools of education can—and should—be saved. The answers lie in their history, a history so consistently negative, so filled with abandoned ideals that the authors—despite their insider status—seem astonished by their own words. Clifford and Guthrie, in the epilogue to *Ed School*, dismiss the argument that tension between academic and school culture is healthy. "Trying to mediate between the relatively insular culture of academe and the wide-open world of public education, schools of education have been troubled places for most of their histories." The tensions, they conclude, have been "predominantly unproductive and defeating."¹⁶ Clifford and Guthrie argue for retaining schools of education, but their program—to reorient schools of education to the education profession and away from academe—has a century and a half of history against it. Herbst and the Goodlad authors are more willing than Clifford and Guthrie to prescribe treatments for schools of education, and we may place their views in the context of current prescriptions.

The current wave of school reform employs such buzz words as "teacher professionalism," "school-based management," "national standards," and "restructuring," and focuses on schools, districts, and states as the locus of change. But questions about the role of schools of education, particularly the training of teachers, are woven through every facet of the reform movement. Of the authors reviewed, only Herbst argues for an intense undergraduate induction into teaching followed by several years in the classroom, and then by a discipline-based master's degree. The Holmes group and the Carnegie Forum advocate abandoning the undergraduate education major in favor of strong liberal arts education. Both groups also advocate graduate level professional preparation, including internships and residencies in schools. Goodlad's proposals for autonomous centers of pedagogy most directly threaten schools of education—pilot programs are currently in formation. Several states and districts are already experimenting with a Carnegie Forum proposal for career ladders for teachers so that excellent teachers have choices besides leaving the isolated classroom for administration. Carnegie also supports the national board for professional teaching standards that certifies the achievement of teachers who choose to be tested.

A number of these strategies are external to schools of education, and are designed to exert pressure on them from outside constituencies dissatisfied with their performance. Thoughtful faculty committed to the improvement of public education still think wishfully of shutting down the nation's schools of education and beginning anew within the liberal arts. Over the last decades, schools districts have learned that often the least useful source of renewal is a university's school of education. Furthermore, there exist

today a cadre of college teachers in liberal arts departments knowledgeable about pedagogy, experienced in remediating the difficulties of their first year students. And the movement to create school-college collaborations frequently bypasses schools of education, tapping the subject matter knowledge of these liberal arts faculty and linking it to the pedagogical knowledge of master teachers in the public schools. Furthermore, recruitment and access of underrepresented groups to higher education, a major concern of higher education today, has not been the province of schools of education.

Some ed schools have taken a leadership role since the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, but the jury is still out on whether an extensive, entrenched enterprise can change. The large graduate schools, of course, continue to certify thousands of teachers. But an aging faculty is less and less connected to—or present in—public schools, and universities have hired few new education faculty members. The Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE), the school I know best, gives some cause for optimism. In the 60s HGSE pioneered the master of arts in teaching, but by the late seventies the school had no programs for teachers; offered minimal education for school administrators; and focused little research on educational issues in school settings. The Counseling and Consulting Psychology program, the largest Ed.M. program, attracted students who wanted social service or business careers. HGSE tenured no faculty members between 1975 and 1984.

Today, in contrast, HGSE educates and certifies 100 teachers in model programs, trains urban superintendents, and collaborates with city and suburban schools. School-based faculty research is changing school practice. Stanford, even smaller than Harvard, also strengthened its commitments to schools and school-related research. Michigan State, among the large public institutions, housed the Holmes Group, successfully and visibly seized the agendas of the national reports, and identified state programs and policy—in other words, politics—as its key arena.

But the history that precedes these positive changes, and the difficulty in moving a large enterprise, makes it hard to believe that ed schools have attained a threshold of change. Harvard, Stanford, Michigan State, and some other institutions may innovate, but their programs and approaches are not necessarily appropriate to the state colleges, land grant universities, and four-year private institutions where the majority of teachers are trained.¹⁷ These “lesser” schools face the greatest challenge: to educate several hundred thousand competent teachers needed in the next few years.

Schools of education will no doubt survive into the next century, but they cannot flourish until the education of teachers matters to university faculties as a whole, and until schools of education have the courage and freedom to declare that their first commitments are not to academic culture but to school improvement. These schools must, however, also analyze the causes

of the crisis for children in this country. Ed schools cannot alone solve problems of poverty, discrimination, and profound alienation, but accomplishments will be few until they become more political—more willing to attack and critique the policies and institutions that make their work appear so hopeless.

Neighborhoods in the city where I work look like third world slums: men warm their hands over trash can fires, women trailed by three and four children step over broken glass; bodies wrapped in rags lie on the sidewalks downtown; families live in abandoned cars. Seven to ten inhabited houses collapse each week in my city; last spring, measles killed a dozen unvaccinated children, and grandmothers banded together to seek services for the crack-affected children of their children. Schools of education cannot train teachers and principals to rehabilitate housing or give vaccinations. They must not, as Clifford and Guthrie comment, be assigned "almost every social problem or aspiration the nation has ever encountered." But they can provide intellectual and political leadership; they can reflect back to society the choices we make—and allow to be made on our behalf—to perpetuate devastating social inequalities.¹⁸

NOTES

1. One indicator of general interest is the small vogue of books on schools of education, schools and teachers. A representative sample includes: Samuel Freedman, *Small Victories* (New York, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1990), and Tracy Kidder, *Among School Children* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), portraits of urban schools, their teachers and kids; Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* (New York, N.Y.: Crown Publications, 1991), a blazing indictment of the tax system that impoverishes districts most in need of resources; the American Educational Research Association's comprehensive volume, *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York, N.Y.: American Education Research Association, 1989); Edward B. Fiske, *Smart Schools, Smart Kids* (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1991); a journalistic account of school transformation, and John Chubb and Terry Moe, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1990), a book about the controversial issue of school choice.
2. Dan C. Lortie uses this phrase in *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1973).
3. Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 185.
4. See particularly Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women in Higher Education in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985).
5. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 107.
6. *Ibid.*, 153.

7. Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987).
8. Cited in Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990), 2.
9. See Herbst, for example, in *Educational Studies*, 20 (1989), Vol. 20, 133-118.
10. Geraldine Joncich Clifford and James Guthrie, *Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 4.
11. Arthur C. Powell, *The Uncertain Profession: Harvard and the Search for Educational Authority* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980).
12. Clifford and Guthrie, *Ed School*, 122.
13. *Ibid.*, 236.
14. *Ibid.*, 237.
15. *Ibid.*, 246.
16. Clifford and Guthrie, *Ed School*, 365.
17. The 444,000 education majors in 1,190 institutions in 1983 represent a 35 percent decline in a decade, but this number was surpassed only by business majors. In 1990, 7,900 doctorates were awarded in education, more than English, math, physical science, and social science combined. See *The Almanac of Higher Education* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 39; and *The 1989 Education Indicators* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, 1989), 85.
18. Clifford and Guthrie, *Ed School*, 6.

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